

Te Mana o te Kingitanga Maori

A Study of Waikato-Ngatimaniapoto
Relations during the struggle
for the King Country, 1878-84

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by

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Figure 1 Waikato and the King Country, 1878-84

Sources:

Map of the North Island, New Zealand. Shewing the Land Tenure, 30 June 1884. AJHR, 1884, Session 2, C-1.

Petition of the Maniapoto, Raukawa, Tuwharetoa, and Whanganui Tribes, printed in AJHR, 1883, J-1, p.2

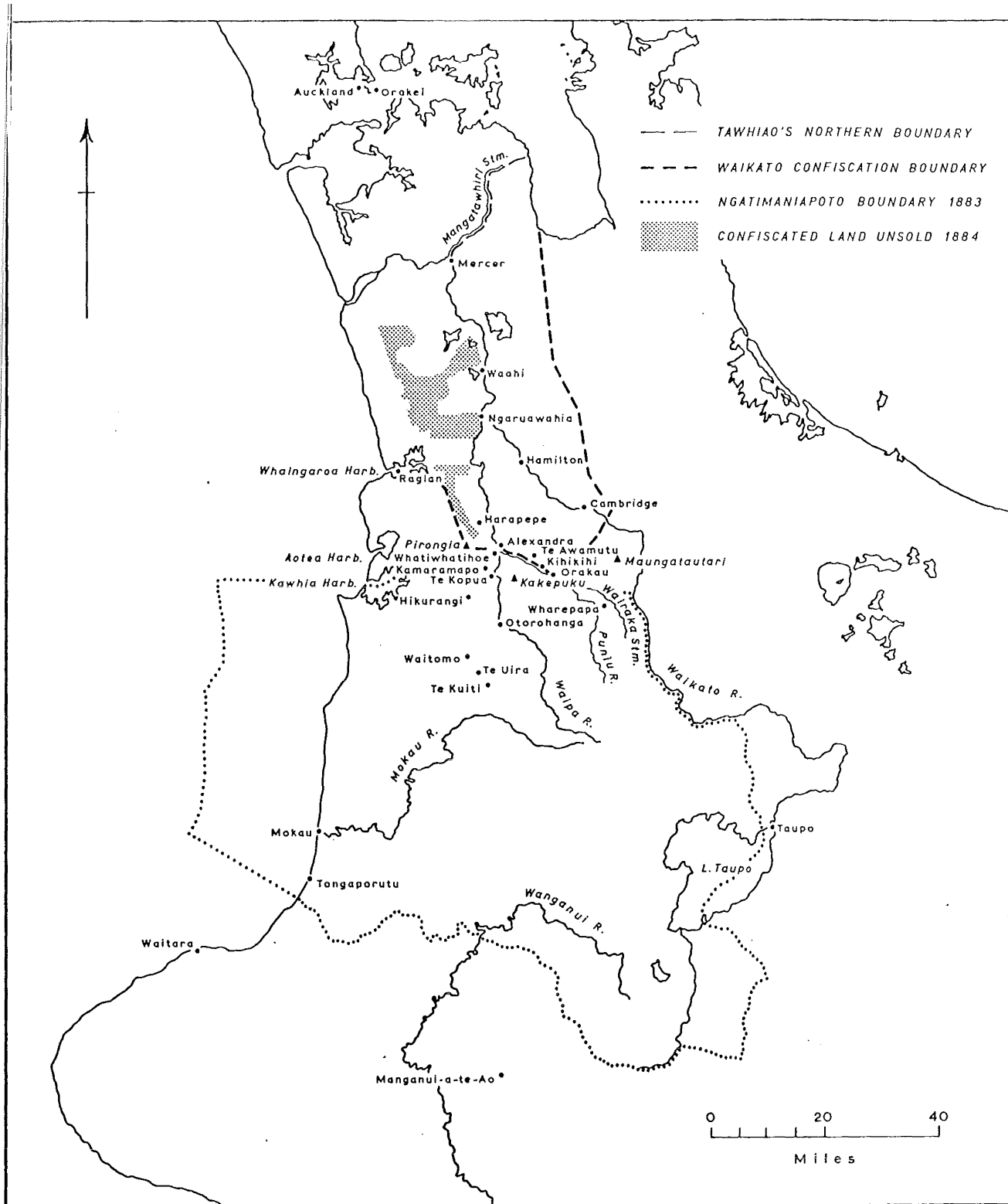


Figure 1

Preface

The writing of the history of a tribal people living behind a boundary which Europeans were not in general permitted to cross has presented peculiar difficulties. The problem of understanding the working of the Maori mind of another generation has moreover been aggravated by a notable paucity of reliable documentary material. Private European correspondence is rare. The expulsion of the missionaries from the Waikato during the Wars has deprived the historian of this period of a normally copious and informed source. More seriously, the National Archives fire of 1907 largely destroyed the inwards Maori letters, though fortunately a few files have survived. One is forced therefore to depend for the most part on evidence which betrays only too often the ignorance and bias of the settler. Government Agents and newspaper reporters tended to interpret every scrap of Maori intelligence in the context of their own preoccupation with the opening up of more Maori land for settlement. The Auckland papers of the period were notoriously unreliable in their reporting of Maori news, even going so far as to give accounts of meetings which had not occurred. The Waikato Times, though not above reproach in this respect, has proved far more useful. Happily, too, there were at least two prodigious letter writers among the pakeha who enjoyed the friendship of the Maori; without the diaries and letter books of William Mair- whose untimely removal from his post in 1879 and later promotion out of the King Country were a sad loss to the historian- and of W.H. Grace, the study of this period

would have been barren indeed.

I should perhaps make it clear that I have not attempted a comprehensive social and political study of the King Movement. This thesis is concerned with the impact of the Confiscation and of the subsequent Government pressure for land for railway development on the political relations of the Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto tribes in the period 1878-1884, and the simultaneous conflict over the nature and rôle of the Maori kingship.

In the course of writing this thesis, I have accumulated numerous debts. I should like first of all to thank the many friends whose generous and indispensable hospitality over a long period made it possible for me to consult my North Island sources: Mr and Mrs C.C. Badley of Ngaruawahia, Miss Joyce Whitehead, formerly of Auckland, Mr and Mrs J. O'Halloran and Mr and Mrs Max Somerville of Te Kuiti, Dr and Mrs Wayne McGregor, formerly of Hamilton; and Mr and Mrs Nigel Taylor, Mr and Mrs C. James, Mr and Mrs H.W. Smith, Mr and Mrs David Edgar, and Mrs J. Paul, all of Wellington. I am also indebted to the University of Canterbury which made me a grant from the Lester Fund.

I should like to thank, too, the staffs of the Auckland Public Library, especially Miss P.M. French, the Auckland Institute and Museum, the Waikato Times Office, Hamilton, the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, The General Assembly Library and the National Archives. Mr M.G. Hitchings and his staff at the Hocken Library, Dunedin, have been more than helpful over a long period. I am grateful to Mr Roy Carroll, formerly of the General Assembly Library,

and to Mr J. Pascoe of the National Archives for arranging for me to photograph material, and to my mother who undertook the arduous task of transcribing microfilm. I must thank Mr Koro Dewes of the Anthropology Department, the Victoria University of Wellington, for his help, Mrs Elsie Locke of Christchurch for references, and in particular Mr and Mrs Max Somerville of Te Kuiti who put me on the track of the papers of W.H. Grace. I am especially indebted to Mr Alex McKay of Ngaruawahia for giving me the benefit of his long association with the Maori royal family. Mr D.R. Simmons of the Auckland Institute and Museum, Mr Bob Mahuta of Auckland and the Rev. Maka Mete of the Anglican Maori Mission, Christchurch, kindly translated numerous Maori letters and papers of essential importance. I must acknowledge with gratitude the willingness of Mr and Mrs J. O'Halloran of Te Kuiti to allow me to use the papers of W.H. Grace which are in their possession, and their very great kindness to me during my stay with them. Mr Bob Mahuta also allowed me access to miscellaneous family papers and translated them for me. Mr G.A.H. Kidd of the Department of Geography, University of Otago, took a great deal of trouble to reconstruct the Ngatimaniapoto boundary and drew my beautiful map. I must acknowledge, too, the help of my father who first suggested the topic to me and who has been throughout a constant source of inspiration. Finally, I owe a special debt to my supervisor, Professor W.D. McIntyre of the University of Canterbury, for his interest in my work and his endless encouragement and helpful criticism.

Abbreviations

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| AJHR | Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (New Zealand) |
| ANU | Australian National University, Canberra |
| CO | Colonial Office |
| GL:NZ | Sir George Grey Collection: New Zealand Letters |
| GNZM | Sir George Grey Collection, New Zealand, printed Maori documents |
| GNZ/MA | Sir George Grey Collection, New Zealand Maori autographs |
| GNZ/Mss | Sir George Grey Collection, New Zealand Manuscripts |
| GNZ/MMss | Sir George Grey Collection, New Zealand Maori Manuscripts |
| MA | Maori Affairs Department, special files |
| N & D | Native and Defence Office |
| N.O. | Native Office, inwards correspondence |
| N.Z. Herald | The New Zealand Herald (Auckland) |
| N.Z. Listener | New Zealand Listener (Wellington) |
| NZ/Mss | New Zealand Manuscripts Collection, Auckland Public Library |
| NZPD | New Zealand Parliamentary Debates |
| Waikato Times | The Waikato Times (Hamilton) |

Glossary

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| aukati | a line which one may not pass; a term applied in the period covered here to the Waikato confiscation boundary along the Puniu river, the lands beyond which were forbidden to the pakeha. |
| haka | an energetic posture dance of welcome or defiance. |
| hapu | an extended Maori kinship group taking its name from an ancestor common to all its members; it might be a direct subdivision of the tribe, or a smaller group within that subdivision. |
| hauhau | a follower of the messianic, semi-Christian, fanatically anti-pakeha cult propagated by Te Ua among the Maoris defeated in the wars of the 'sixties. The settlers used the term to denote any Maori who had fought against the Government. |
| hui | any large gathering. |
| kainga | a village; used here in the sense of one's home village. |
| kingi | king |
| kingitanga | kingship, kingly power |
| kupapa | a Maori who had fought in the wars of the 'sixties on the Government side; it was, on the whole, a derogatory term. |
| mana | Pei Jones's definition 'spiritual prestige' is perhaps the most satisfactory. Though a chief had <u>mana</u> (authority) over the tribe, his <u>mana</u> (prestige) also inhered in the tribe. Hence the phrase 'chiefly mana over the land' implies a tribal right to the land which was merely vested in the chief. |
| marae | an open court in front of the meeting house where visitors are welcomed and tribal discussions are held. |
| matua | a parent, father. |
| pakeha | a person of European descent. |

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| powhiri | a ceremony of welcome. |
| Rohe potae | a term used in this period to denote the land within the boundaries of the King Country. |
| runanga | a council |
| tangi | a prolonged weeping over the dead, recommenced by the 'home' people at the arrival of each new party of mourners. A tangi for a great chief might go on for days since mourners would come from far afield. |
| tariao | a quietist religion introduced by Tawhiao and his chiefs about 1876, based, it seems, on the Old Testament. There were at least two Tariao priests in each Kingite village, and solemn services were held twice a day (there was also a sabbath), at which prayers were said to God and to (and for) Tawhiao. Genealogical chants and hymns also formed part of the service. |
| whakapapa | a genealogy. |
| whare | a house, dwelling. |
| whare wananga | House of Learning, attended by selected youths of chiefly rank "to receive instruction in tribal history, legends, and genealogies, in the most sacred mythological tales and religious rites..." (R. Firth, <u>Economics of the New Zealand Maori</u> , p.189). |

Introduction

The origins of the Maori King movement have been much discussed in recent years.¹ In the 1850's, it is generally agreed, there was a widespread concern among the Maoris at the increasing speed with which the land was being absorbed by the pakeha, and a consequent desire to unite against the loss of any more. Many Maoris, too, hoped that under the auspices of a king a successful programme of runanga government might, as the Colonial authorities had not done, bring law and order to their society. But the movement was not solely a result of pakeha intrusion and incompetence. The election of a Maori king, after all, marked a new departure in Maori political organization.²

1. See B.J. Dalton, War and Politics in New Zealand, 1855-1870 (Sydney, 1967), pp.61-84; John Te H. Grace, Tuwharetoa (Wellington, 1959), pp.442-57; H. Miller, "Maori and Pakeha", in I.L.G. Sutherland (ed.) The Maori People Today (Christchurch, 1940); H. Miller, Race Conflict in New Zealand, 1814-65 (Auckland, 1966), pp.45-52; K. Sinclair, "The Maori in Politics, 1840-67" in J.G.A. Pocock (ed.) The Maori and New Zealand Politics (Auckland, 1965); K. Sinclair, The Maori Land League (Auckland, 1950); K. Sinclair, "Maori Nationalism and the European Economy, 1850-60", in Historical Studies, Vol.V, No.18, 1952, pp.119-34; K. Sinclair, The Origins of the Maori Wars (Wellington, 1957), pp.61-84; M.P.K. Sorrenson, "Land Purchase Methods and their Effect on Maori Population, 1865-1901", The Journal of the Polynesian Society, LXV (September, 1956), pp.183-99; M.P.K. Sorrenson, "The Maori King Movement, 1858-1885", in R.Chapman and K. Sinclair (eds.) Studies of a Small Democracy (Auckland, 1963); [M. Winiata], History of the King Movement. Centennial Celebration 1858-1958 [1958]; M. Winiata, The Changing Role of the Leader in Maori Society (Auckland, 1967), pp.57-79.
2. Edward Hill maintains that there was a previous inter-tribal organization in the 'Taranaki Land League'. Cf. E. Hill, There was a Taranaki Land League (Wellington, 1969).

In its size and geographical extent, its establishment of all the paraphernalia of government and, above all, in its concept of a paramount chief under whom all the tribes might federate, the King movement was a quite startling development. It implied the existence among the Maoris of a new sort of determination, of a desire in short to govern themselves. To Maori and pakeha alike, therefore, Te Wherowhero's³ elevation to the kingship in June 1858 was thoroughly radical.

It was an innovation on which each, unfortunately, placed different interpretations. To the Government and the settlers, indeed, the King came rapidly to represent a hostile intent, a gesture of defiance towards their race and, more important, towards the sovereignty of the Queen. They failed to take account of the intelligence of the Maori people, of their joy in experiment and their fascination with pakeha institutions.⁴ They failed, too, to understand that the choice of the title kingi was merely an expression of appreciation of the virtues of Victoria, and that the term matua, which many Maoris would have preferred,⁵ far more exactly described their idea of the sort of leader they wanted. Instead, the pakeha assumed that the King led a dangerous nationalist

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3. Te Wherowhero (c.1775-1860), chief of the Ngatimahuta. As king he took the title of Potatau I.
 4. See J.E. Gorst to F.D. Bell, 20 March 1862, Grey Collection, GL:NZ.G 22/2.
 5. Potatau, evidently, was among them. See D. McLean, Notes of an interview between the Native Minister and Ahipene Kaihau at Auckland, 29 June 1872, McLean papers 33 No.7, pp.8-9

movement, a party of rebels, whose chief aim was to trample on the authority of the Crown.⁶ It was a tragic misunderstanding which the Maori had never envisaged⁷ and which was, in the end, to make a mockery of all his efforts to preserve his political and territorial integrity.

What sort of king, then, had the Maori thought to establish? On the surface, after all, Potatau was a strange choice. He was not a warrior king, crowned in triumph after his conquest of the island. He was not, in the strict sense of the term a priestly king, chosen for his power of communication with an ancestral deity. He was neither an administrative head nor a lawgiver. He had no desire to be an effective ruler. He inherited no title, nor did he seek one. He was, in fact, totally against the whole idea of an indigenous kingship, and in particular of being caught up in it himself. "...let me retire in pensive mood..." he pleaded with the delegation who came to offer him the position. "Why dost thou bring this strange god unto me?"⁸

The answer, of course, was obvious. In his declining years Te Wherowhero enjoyed an increasingly large reputation. His

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6. See, for instance, T. Gore Browne to F. Weld, 8 June 1862, Sir Thomas Gore Browne's papers GB 2/3, No.9. Grey developed the idea to the full; it received its strongest expression in his 'Notes re the position of Maori King in N.Z. (n.d. 1869?) Grey Collection, NZ/Mss. 48.
 7. See, for instance, the evidence of Waati Kukutai before the Waikato Committee, 10 October 1860, AJHR, 1860, F-3, p.36.
 8. A figurative reference to the kingship. Pei Te Hurinui Jones, King Potatau (Polynesian Society, Wellington, [1960]), pp.194-5.

exploits as a warrior were renowned. It had been an honour once to be killed at his hands. This was the man who alone, in single combat, had dispatched the flower of the Taranaki fighting force.⁹ He had defeated his enemies on all sides, had turned back invaders of the calibre of Hongi Hika and Te Rauparaha from his lands, had conquered all the centre of the island.¹⁰ He was chief, moreover, of the proud tribes of the "belly of the fish", of the rich lands of the Waikato. And his whakapapa was the most distinguished in the land. His descent from all seven canoes of the 'Great Migration',¹¹ which meant that he could claim kinship with every important tribe was, in view of the problems of creating support for a Maori king, a special qualification. By virtue, then, of his ancestry, his knowledge of the priestly lore of the whare wananga,¹² and his prowess as a warrior, Te Wherowhero was a chief in whom the mana of the tribes might properly inhere.

Nor were these his only claims. Kingship was not an institution suited to the Maori socio-political structure. The Maoris were essentially too deeply tribal to be able to tolerate the elevation among them of a single hapu. The newly-created office, therefore, was hardly one which could be occupied by a chief in his prime, a man who would be eager to utilise it for the advantage of himself and his people. To the Maori an active monarch would never

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9. Pēi Te Hurinui Jones, King Potatau (Wellington, [1960]), pp.102-4.
 10. Ibid., pp42-154, passim.
 11. Ibid., pp.20-1.
 12. Ibid., pp.31-40; p.278.

be acceptable; only a purely ceremonial king, as Te Wherowhero himself knew,¹³ could hope to win their approval. It was, then, the very age and retirement¹⁴ of the great Waikato chief which made him an ideal candidate. He was too old to be dangerous, too honourable to abuse his position. Above all, he would confer upon the office the mystique which alone would lift it out of the hazardous sphere of tribal antagonisms.

The establishment of the dignity of kingship, indeed, loomed large among the considerations of its sponsors. In 1856 a large electoral meeting at Taupo agreed that the King was to possess "firstly, mana or prestige in all the land; secondly, mana over man..."¹⁵ This was not, it was stressed, to be an executive power. In the king's name, of course, certain programmes might be carried out. But this did not alter the fact that the king himself was to remain passive. He was, in the words of Takerei te Rau, a protector.¹⁶ But of what? Certainly he was the guardian of the people and of the land. But the essence of the kingship was, it seems, its protection of chiefly authority, of chiefly mana over the people and over the land.

13. His acceptance of the kingship deprived him of his opportunity of avenging the death of his relative Te Rangianewa at the hands of Ngatihaua. M. Winiata/History of the King Movement /1958/.

14. Te Wherowhero was living in retirement at Mangere which had been his permanent home since 1840. Pei Te Hurinui Jones, op.cit., p.156.

15. Pei Te Hurinui Jones, op.cit., p.196.

16. J.E. Gorst, The Maori King (ed. K. Sinclair)(Hamilton, 1959), p.47. Takerei was a chief of the Ngatimahuta.

It was, in this period, not so much the sale of land which upset thoughtful Maoris as the manner in which it was effected. The growing European tendency to encourage individuals to sell created strife within the tribe and undermined thereby the authority of the chief over it. Yet at this time more than ever, it was felt, when the pakeha were becoming more numerous and more aggressive, the chiefs must guard against the weakening of their authority lest with it all Maori powers of resistance should collapse. Their task was none too easy. In 1859 the Crown itself, in the person of the Governor, lent its support to the insidious methods of the colonists. "He would not permit any one to interfere in the sale of land unless he owned part of it", announced Governor Gore Browne at Waitara, "and, on the other hand, he would buy no man's land without his consent."¹⁷

In Gore Browne's speech the worst fears of the chiefs were realized. It was an open attack on the most basic principle of Maori tribal existence: the communal holding of land under the mana of the chief. At the same time, the Governor attempted an unwarranted imposition on the Maori of the pakeha concept of individual ownership of land, and a blatant denial of the right of the chief both to assert his authority over a member of his tribe and to defend the land of the tribe, for which he was

17. Speech of 8 March 1859, reported in The Taranaki Herald, 12 March 1859, reprinted in W.D. McIntyre and W.J. Gardner (eds.), Speeches and Documents on New Zealand History (Oxford, 1971), p.136.

responsible.¹⁸ "The rights of the chiefs over their own lands were disallowed by the Government", the royal Maori delegation complained to the Queen in 1884, "... and their rights were reduced to an equality with ordinary persons, and their words were allowed no weight in retaining their land or in directing the affairs of their own tribes..."¹⁹

Against this sort of interference, then, the Maori raised his King. "...if you see a Chief who talks of his own mana being over his own piece of land", wrote Wiremu Tamihana, in explanation of his support of the King, "that thought is mine."²⁰ Wi Maehe te Rangikaheke echoed his thoughts: "...the mana of this island is trampled upon by the Pakeha system; the Pakeha system is taught to the tribes; the Maories (sic) therefore consider that it is taking the mana and enslaving this island."²¹ Renata Kawepo, a Hawkes Bay chief, expressed himself even more plainly: "The cause of the Maori setting up his King was because of the evils arising from the sale of land, for it was sold by individuals without the

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18. Te Rangi Hiroa (P.H. Buck), The Coming of the Maori (Wellington, 1949), pp.345-6 and pp.379-82; E.Shortland, Maori Religion and Mythology (London, 1882), pp.89-91.
 19. Memorial of the Maori Chiefs Tawhiao, Wiremu Te Wheoro, Patara Te Tuhi, Topia Turoa, & Hori Ropihana, 15 July 1884. New Zealand. Correspondence respecting a memorial brought to this country by certain Maori chiefs in 1884. G.B. Command Paper [C.4413], No.1.
 20. William Thompson Te Waharoa to the Chairman of the Waikato Committee, 24 January 1861, AJHR, 1860, F-3, p.166. Wiremu Tamihana, the 'Kingmaker', was chief of the Ngatihaua.
 21. AJHR, 1860, F-3, p.24.

consent of the majority."²²

The land, therefore, was placed under the King as a renewed expression of faith in chiefly mana over the land. Maori chiefly authority was personified in Potatau; his installation as King marked the virtual institutionalization of the auctoritas which the Maori was so terrified of losing. The chief whose primary qualification had been his great personal mana became a visible embodiment of the mana of the Maori people. He was a symbol in a dangerous age of the stability of Maori chiefly authority. And there were many Maoris who hoped that in the new atmosphere of tranquillity which would follow his election a system of government might be introduced under which they would be able at last to live in peace. ²³

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22. Renata Kawepo to I.E. Featherston [July 1861], cited by Elsie Locke, 'A Letter from a Rangatira', published in the N.Z. Listener, Vol.53, No.1366, 10 December 1965.
23. Notably Wiremu Tamihana and the Ngatihaua. See for instance Wi Tamihana to the Governor, 7 June 1861, AJHR, 1861, E-1B, p.19. See also Tipene's explanation to Grey, 16 December 1861, AJHR, 1862, E-8, pp.3-10, reprinted in McIntyre and Gardner, op.cit., pp.150-3. For an account of early Kingite government see J.E. Gorst, 5 June 1862, Parliamentary Papers, 1862, E-9, Sect.3, pp.9-19, reprinted in H. Miller, Race Conflict in New Zealand, 1814-1865 (Auckland, 1966), pp. 195-217.

Chapter 1

The Beginnings of Dissension

Tawhiao Potatau te Wherowhero, the second Maori king, was a man eminently fitted to fill the position which his father's death in 1860 left vacant. Quiet, moderate, and passionately devoted to peace, he clung throughout his reign to the last advice of Potatau: "Hold fast to the law; hold fast to love; hold fast to the faith."¹ Baptised in his youth² by the Rev. Robert Burrows of the Church Missionary Society, he was a man on whom the Christian message of love and the brotherhood of man had made a great impression. Like his father before him he had been in the early days a good friend of the pakeha, a frequent visitor to their towns and to the Governor's home.³ His love for the pakeha was tempered only by his overriding concern for his own people; he never saw why the interests of both should not be compatible.

It was, then, Tawhiao's great misfortune to inherit the kingship during the critical period following the first outbreak of hostilities in Taranaki.⁴ Totally unfitted to deal with the guile and greed of the land-hungry pakeha, which were beyond his experience, or to curb the martial tendencies of many of his own men,⁵ he nevertheless did his utmost to avert a war which he never really

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1. Pei Te Hurinui Jones, King Potatau (Wellington, [1960]), p.273.
 2. Matutaera (Methuselah). He was given the name Tawhiao by Te Ua Haumeene. Cf. Pei Te Hurinui Jones, "Maori Kings", in E. Schwimmer (ed.), The Maori People in the Nineteen-Sixties (Auckland, 1968), p.136.
 3. Pei Te Hurinui Jones, King Potatau (Wellington, [1960]), pp.166-9.
 4. The opening rounds were fired on 17 March 1860.
 5. Notably the Ngatimaniapoto. Cf. J.E. Gorst, The Maori King (ed. K. Sinclair) (Hamilton, 1959), pp.214-38.

thought would occur. Even when the British soldiers crossed his border, when blood had already been shed in his dominions, he did his best to dissuade his followers from fighting. He made a personal visit to Rangiriri to urge its defenders to leave before the troops should arrive, and gave up his hopeless task only when the bullets of the invaders made it imperative that he should escape.⁶ He was, in these belligerent times, out of his depth. Confused, he retired inland to remain in seclusion until the pakeha should adopt a more reasonable attitude.

In the event, he had not long to wait. The Colonial ministers soon showed themselves eager to open negotiations. By 1869, when the departure of the remaining British regulars was imminent, when Te Kooti was reported to be seeking the aid of the King party,⁷ the Government was beginning to realise its mistake in converting the centre of the island into an unassailable fortress inhabited by humiliated and hostile Maoris. In consequence, the Native Minister, Donald McLean, responded enthusiastically to a Kingite invitation to come to Alexandra, and his amicable if inconclusive meeting with Tawhiao's chief advisers did much to clear the air.⁸

But the King's problem, far from being solved, was soon to be exacerbated. In June 1870 Julius Vogel, the new Colonial Treasurer, propounded in the House his visionary scheme for the rapid develop-

6. Undated press interview with Tawhiao, The New Zealand Herald, 7 September 1894.

7. He was rebuffed. Cf. B.J. Dalton, War and Politics in New Zealand, 1855-70 (Sydney, 1967), pp.272-3.

8. D. McLean, The Native Minister's Interview with Tamati Ngapora... 9 November 1869 (Auckland, 1869), passim.

ment of New Zealand's resources. "We recognize", he said, "that the great wants of the colony are—public works, in the shape of roads and railways; and immigration."⁹ In this new context the King Maoris of the interior could only be viewed as a decided liability. Vogel's immigrants must be persuaded first of all that New Zealand was not the dangerous country which ten years of gloomy and bloody reports had led them to believe.¹⁰ More important, however, was the necessity of improving communications. It seemed insufferable in an age of progress that a body of supposedly vanquished Maoris could yet hold the colony to ransom, impeding settlement and public works programmes in the heart of the island.¹¹ Clearly, it was now a matter of urgency that the Kingites be pacified. In consequence, though the King was keen to negotiate, he must now do so under considerable Government pressure.¹² As early as May 1871 Major William Mair, a man who, if he had fought the Maoris, at least knew them well, arrived in the Waikato on a new and special mission: "...namely that of breaking down the barrier between the Government and the Maori king and bringing him and his chiefs out to our settlements and into friendly intercourse with

9. J. Vogel, 28 June 1870, NZPD, 1870, Vol.7, p.102.

10. Cf. G.F. Bowen to Kimberley, 15 May 1872, AJHR, 1872, A-1, No.66.

11. The typical settler view is expressed in J. White, undated private memorandum, John White papers 75/33, p.3. Auckland was connected by telegraph to Wellington only in 1872, several years after the rest of the Colony. Bowen to Kimberley, 16 May 1872, AJHR, 1872, A-1, No.67.

12. The first stage of the North Island Main Trunk railway from Auckland to Mercer was authorized in 1871. NZPD, 8 November 1871, Vol.11, pp.925-6.

the settlers."¹³ In the King Country he was christened forthwith mata ora roku, the weakening wedge.¹⁴

Tawhiao, if he was well aware of the nature of Mair's task, was by no means averse from helping him carry it out.¹⁵ His own position was in the meantime an awkward one. Deprived as a result of his 'rebellion' of nearly all his lands, he had been forced to take refuge in the Ngatimaniapoto domains beyond the Confiscation line.¹⁶ It was from the first an unsatisfactory arrangement. A lone king in exile might perhaps have added immeasurably to his mystique; a king in exile with all his people¹⁷ was a rather different proposition. Enforced proximity dangerously exacerbated the natural animosity between Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto. Such incidents as the killing of pakeha trespassing within the aukati led to endless recriminations and quarrelling as to who had been responsible.¹⁸ Rewi Maniapoto's offer of asylum to Te Kooti,

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13. W.G. Mair to Under Secretary, Native Department, 27 December 1881, cited in J.C. Andersen and G.C. Petersen, The Mair Family (Wellington, 1956), p.240.
14. Ibid., p.231.
15. Cf. Mair's friendly reception when he attended his first Kingite meeting. W.G. Mair to D. McLean, 27 September 1871, McLean papers 310 No.9.
16. Despite the terms of the N.Z. Settlements Act 1863, 27 Vict. No.23, which authorized the confiscation of all land in districts belonging to rebellious Maoris, the Ngatimaniapoto escaped very lightly. By contrast the Waikato lost 1,202,172 acres.
17. In 1874 Mair estimated that there were 2,200 Waikatans living in or near Te Kuiti. AJHR, 1874, G-7, p.6.
18. Cf. e.g. W.G. Mair to Under Secretary, Native Department, 14 April 1874, AJHR, 1874, G-2B No.4; R.S. Bush to Native Minister, 14 October 1873, AJHR, 1874, G-2B, No.7; James McKay (jun.) to Native Minister, 10 July 1873, AJHR, 1873, G-3, pp.6-7.

whom the King did not want to see, created further bad feeling.¹⁹
Sooner or later, it was obvious, Tawhiao would have to shift.

Ironically enough, therefore, it was the arrival of the very men whose job it was to facilitate his departure which did most to strain relations between Tawhiao and his hosts. Rewi Maniapoto, chief of the Ngatimaniapoto tribe, had reason to view the incursion of the official negotiators with trepidation. It was after all uncertain in what capacity they would treat with Tawhiao and what sort of peace they would offer him. If, as the Maoris had been given to understand, it was impossible to return the Waikato, might not the Government present Tawhiao with some of Rewi's lands? Far worse, would they recognize his authority over all the King Country? It seemed to Rewi not unlikely. In addressing their overtures to Tawhiao, the Government had already implied that they recognized his as a superior power. Whether they saw him as King or merely a great chief, therefore, hardly mattered; the point was that they might offer him a new active rôle in governance.

To Rewi this was a terrifying prospect. The King whom he had supported in the past, whom he had now accepted as his guest was purely ceremonial; it had never been intended that he should exercise any power. Now, it seemed, the intervention of an outsider might produce a quite different sort of king, a king who

19. W.G. Mair to D. McLean, 16 July 1872, McLean papers 310 No.10.
See also D. McLean, Notes of an interview between Native Minister and Ahipene Kaihau, 29 June 1872, McLean papers 33, No.7.

could entirely usurp his own authority. The impending transactions might suddenly convert Tawhiao into the Government-approved ruler of his people and his lands; Rewi could find himself as a reward for his hospitality left with nothing. He was determined therefore that he should not be excluded from the negotiations, that an agreement should not be concluded with the King behind his back. Indeed, it seemed, the best solution would be to make his own peace.

Rewi's earliest endeavours were, however, doomed to disappointment. In 1872 Tawhiao was delighted at the prospect of a visit from Governor Bowen, who was completing an extensive tour of the North Island. "Let the Governor come", he said, "and do not let any one interfere with me."²⁰ Rewi had already expressed an urgent wish to see McLean himself and the remark naturally filled him with anxiety.²¹ He subsequently wrote to McLean without consulting Tawhiao in the hope of conducting the meeting himself. At this point Tawhiao withdrew in umbrage from the whole affair, but Rewi's people persuaded him not to continue in the King's absence and McLean, after waiting in vain for the King to arrive in Alexandra, had to leave without an interview.²²

The incident left Rewi undaunted. In 1874 he tried again.

20. D. McLean, Notes of an interview... 29 June 1872, McLean papers 33, No.7.

21. W.G. Mair to D. McLean, 14 May 1872, McLean papers 310, No.14, and Rewi Maniapoto to D. McLean, 2 May 1872, M.A. 23/2 NS 72/588.

22. On all this see D. McLean, Notes of an interview... McLean papers 33 No.7.

"For three years Waikato have been talking about making peace with the Governor", he said at a meeting in March, "... but none of them seem to be able or willing to take the lead in the matter, so now I will go out and see Mr McLean myself."²³ In April he sent urgently to Mair to ask McLean's whereabouts, explaining that the Native Minister had promised to meet him again, and he thought that the time was now ripe. But his invitation to McLean to see him at Taupo enjoyed no success.²⁴ In June 1875 he went with a large party on a visit to the Bay of Plenty settlements, hoping that at Whakatane, where the meeting house *Matatua* had recently been opened, the much sought after interview might take place. Again, he had no luck.²⁵ And he must have found it galling in the extreme that Tawhiao was meanwhile doing rather better with his own negotiations.

It is clear that the King had been greatly distressed by McLean's premature departure from Alexandra in 1872. He had immediately dispatched an ambassador to Auckland to assure the Native Minister that the hitch had not been his fault, and to ask him to return at once.²⁶ Thereafter Tawhiao became noticeably more friendly. In April 1873, for instance, when the Government

23. W.G. Mair to Under Secretary, Native Department, 14 April 1874, AJHR, 1874, G-2B, No.4.

24. Ibid. See also W.G. Mair to D. McLean, 15 August 1874, McLean papers 310 No.15.

25. H.W. Brabant to Under Secretary, Native Department, 7 June 1875, AJHR, 1875, G-4, No.21.

26. D. McLean, Notes of an interview... 29 June 1872, McLean papers 33 No.7.

ship Luna with Vogel and McLean aboard took shelter in Kawhia harbour it received a warm welcome from the rabid Kingite chief Tapihana. He and Tu Tawhiao, the King's son, visited the vessel and enjoyed themselves immensely.²⁷ Before the end of the year Tu Tawhiao visited the town of Alexandra, and the King himself, it was reported, came within a couple of miles of the settlement.²⁸ At the same time Tawhiao's sister, Tiria, and his wife, whom he sent to Aotea to open a meeting house which the resident kupapa had built for him- in itself a good sign- fraternised with Robert Bush, the government agent at Raglan. Their doing so, explained Tiria, was of no mean importance. These days, she said, were to be looked upon as "... days of joy, which were to be followed by many more".²⁹ The new intercourse with the pakeha was to herald an era of peace.

Tawhiao was, however, anxious to make more positive progress. Early in 1875 he renewed his invitation to McLean. Determined this time that things should not go wrong, he arranged the meeting through his own intermediaries and even, at the end, wrote to the Native Minister himself. On 26 January, accompanied by the

27. The harbour had been closed to Europeans for 12-13 years previously. G.A.Arney to Kimberley, 10 April 1873, AJHR, 1873, A-1A, No.9 and encl.

28. W.G. Mair to Under Secretary, Native Department, 29 December 1873, AJHR, 1874, G-2B, No.3.

29. R.S. Bush to Native Minister, 29 November 1873, AJHR, 1874, G-2B, No.9; also R.S. Bush to Native Minister, 22 November 1873, AJHR, 1874, G-2B, No.8.

influential kupapa chief, Wiremu Te Wheoro,³⁰ McLean arrived in the Waikato and travelled to Waitomo to meet Tawhiao. King and Government were at last face to face.

McLean's proposals were generous, if ambiguous. He offered on behalf of the Government to recognize the King's authority within his own district and to support him in his duties of "maintaining order and repressing crime among his people". He might in addition appoint a council of chiefs to help him in his work. The Government would build him a house at Kawhia and would moreover return certain lands on the left bank of the Waipa and the Waikato rivers. To these offers the King, not unexpectedly, made no reply. Instead, he asked that the Europeans depart from the Waikato and that the confiscated lands be returned to him; only then, he said, would the rest of his difficulties be open to solution. McLean did not press him. He pointed out that it was impossible to grant these requests and, leaving his own proposals for Tawhiao's further consideration, he departed amid great goodwill.³¹

On McLean's return the following year, however, it was soon obvious that Tawhiao had not changed his mind. Far from showing himself sensible of the liberality of the Government, he seemed to

30. Te Wheoro was a Waikato, chief of the Ngatinaho. He had been working with Mair since his arrival and played a leading part in organizing the meeting.

31. On all this see The Hon. Native Minister's Meeting with Tawhiao... AJHR, 1875, G-4, pp.1-12.

have adopted an even firmer line. He now sought a meeting to discuss not the Government's terms but his own. Would McLean agree, he repeated, to the Europeans leaving the Waikato? McLean again explained that he was powerless to undo the Confiscation but that he would nevertheless recognize Tawhiao's authority. But the King would give him no answer. He reiterated instead his own demand: "The men and the land are mine." McLean had thus to go away empty-handed once more. Tawhiao spoke enthusiastically all the same of future meetings, and seemed highly pleased with all that had taken place.³² Whether he and McLean would in the end have reached agreement remains doubtful. Certainly Tawhiao had developed a great liking and respect for the Native Minister and he later affirmed that McLean had much influence over him, and that he alone might have persuaded him to accept the Government's terms.³³ But the question in any case did not arise. Before he could return to the Waikato, McLean died suddenly, early in January 1877.

Tawhiao's was now an unenviable position. For the last few years his supporters had been dwindling constantly. In 1872, Mair reported, Ngatimaniapoto, the "largest half of Waikato",

32. Meeting between the Hon. the Native Minister and Tawhiao, AJHR, 1876, G-4, pp.1-7.

33. Report of Kingite meeting in The New Zealand Herald, 31 October 1882.

and a portion of Ngatiraukawa still adhered to the King.³⁴ But Ngatituwharetoa of Taupo had recently decided in favour of roads and against Tawhiao, and the majority of Ngatiraukawa had in the middle of the year formally announced their allegiance to the Government. A large number of former King supporters among Ngatihaua, moreover, were gradually severing their connexion with him.³⁵ He could hardly afford, then, to lose Ngatimaniapoto support as well. But by 1875 his relations with them had deteriorated to such an extent that he was shifting his people to Hikurangi and Kopua. Two years later, the population of the villages had trebled, and the King himself was living there.³⁶ He had in short withdrawn from the heart of the Ngatimaniapoto country; he lay now uneasily on its outskirts.

In brief, he had failed to accept offers which would have given him and his people security. It was uncertain whether

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34. It is difficult to ascertain the number of the King's supporters. In addition to the 2,200 Waikato at Te Kuiti, there were 1,344 living in the Upper Waikato, of whom perhaps half adhered to the King. There were 850 Ngatimaniapoto within a 30-mile radius of Te Kuiti, and another 1,200 at Raglan and Kawhia where there were also about 400 (?) Waikato Kingites. The probable total within the area was therefore about 5,300. AJHR, 1874, G-7, pp.5-6.
35. On all this see W.G. Mair to Under Secretary, Native Department, 2 July 1872, AJHR, 1872, F-3, No.6; W.G. Mair to Native Minister, 1 August 1872, AJHR, 1872, F-3A, No.28. In 1873 James McKay estimated that Ngatihaua Kingites could furnish 170 fighting men, and Ngatihaua kupapa 100. James McKay to Native Minister, 10 July 1873, AJHR, 1873, G-3, p.1.
36. R.S. Bush to Under Secretary, Native Department, 8 May 1877, AJHR, 1877, G-1, No.9; W.G. Mair to Under Secretary, Native Department, 25 May 1877, AJHR, 1877, G-1, No.7.

they would ever be made again, or, more important, whether they would be made by a man with whom Tawhiao could talk. Rewi, meanwhile, had arranged two private meetings with McLean's successor, Dr Pollen;³⁷ perhaps, after all, he would succeed in making his own arrangements. Then, towards the end of the year, Tawhiao's prospects suddenly became more hopeful. In October a new Premier assumed office, a man who knew the Maori and was known by them better than any other. Surely, it seemed, the King could come to an agreement with Sir George Grey.³⁸

37. W.G. Mair to Under Secretary, Native Department, 25 May 1877, AJHR, G-1, No.7.

38. The Kingites had already sought Grey's mediation in 1876. See Te Reinga: His (sic) interview with Sir G. Grey, Auckland, 7 June 1876, Grey Collection, GNZ/Mss.86.

Chapter II

The Deepening Conflict

On 1 February 1878 Waikato kupapa paddled Sir George Grey and his Native Minister, John Sheehan, up-river from Alexandra. At 10.50 a.m. the ministerial party arrived at Te Kopua. Te Wheoro, who had ridden overland with the rest of the Europeans, received them at the landing and escorted them to the meeting place about a quarter of a mile away at Kamaramapo.¹ The Waikato King Maoris, drawn up in a vast semi-circle,² waited in silence as the Premier³ approached. As he reached the line, he was greeted by Manuhiri's daughter, Te Reinga, and by a few of the King's associates. There was no powhiri.⁴ Amidst a deep hush Sir George walked towards the end of the line where sat the royal hapu, Ngatimahuta. In front of the King he stopped. The Maoris began anew the tangi for Takerei te Rau,⁵ one of their greatest chiefs.

Tawhiao alone was standing, surrounded by his people. He wore a black vest ornamented with thin silver cord; his arms were bare. On his shoulders and around his waist he wore woven mats.

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1. Alternatively spelt Kamarawapo.
 2. Estimates of the number present range from 1,000 to 3,000.
 3. Also known as Tamati Ngapora (c.1804-85). He was a Ngatimahuta chief, a close relative of Tawhiao and one of his chief counsellors.
 4. This was unusual. Mair affirmed that it had been pre-arranged as a mark of disrespect and that the people had been forbidden to meet Grey at the river. W.G. Mair to his sister Laura (4) February 1878, Mair Family Papers 5.
 5. Takerei died on (?) 21 January and was buried on 26 January.

There were flax leaves in his hair.⁶ "He stood sideways towards the visitors, and kept his eyes fixed on the ground before him. His air was that of a man of fixed melancholy..."⁷ During the tangi and throughout the tariao rites which followed he remained immobile. Then silence reigned once more. For a quarter of an hour Tawhiao said nothing. Finally he spoke:⁸

"Welcome! welcome! welcome! Come to those who have called you many times. Come, bringing with you your rules; come and see what ours are. The inevitable must be endured. Think not of the alterations that have taken place. Come and see. Come, O father. Come, come, come, O Grey. You bring healing with you. Listen! O listen! This is Governor Grey. O come, father of the people. Salutations to you."

It was, of course, a non-committal utterance. The time had come, Tawhiao knew, when the past must be forgotten, when he must begin again to work with the pakeha government. His pleasure at seeing Grey was no doubt genuine; he was after all an old friend. And with Grey, for whom he had much respect, he might be able to co-operate. But he must wait until his people were ready. For the Waikato were not yet capable of calm negotiation. They had been not only defeated but robbed of their lands. They were now called on to meet not only the conqueror but the castigator. It was in the meantime too much to ask. The meeting had in fact been

6. A sign of mourning.

7. AJHR, 1878, G-3, p.2.

8. Ibid. p.10. The description is taken from pp.1-2.

called before they were ready for it, before they even wanted it.⁹

In these circumstances Grey's friendly overtures enjoyed little success. On the second day, when business began, the only important Waikato speech was made by the old chief Manuhiri. He found very little to say to the Premier. "The heart", he explained, "is still throbbing with the emotion of the occasion, and I am only thinking now how many years have passed. It is seventeen years since I saw you last."¹⁰ He had been waiting, he meant, seventeen years for Grey to return his lands.¹¹ The King himself remained silent; the next speaker ignored the visitor altogether. Nor was this all. Grey had hoped evidently to be able at least to get the leading chiefs to talk privately. But here again he was foiled. He tried to gain an evening audience with the King, but Tawhiao wrote to him explaining that he would prefer not to come as it caused 'murmuring' among his chiefs.¹² Grey tried again with Manuhiri. Would he like to visit him in the morning? Again, he was met by refusal. All the talking, said Manuhiri, must take place in public.¹³ The Waikato chiefs, in short, were determined to keep the meeting

9. It had been arranged by Te Wheoro who had finally persuaded Tawhiao to write to Grey. His own first invitations- written in the King's name- had been unsuccessful. W.G. Mair to his brother Gilbert, 11 January 1878, Mair Family Papers 5; and The New Zealand Herald, 19 January 1878. Cf. Report of Te Ngakau's words, AJHR, 1878, G-3, p.9.

10. AJHR, 1878, G-3, p.4.

11. This at any rate was how Mair's Ngatimaniapoto friends interpreted it for him. W.G. Mair to Laura (4) February 1878, Mair Family Papers 5.

12. AJHR, 1878, G-3, p.4.

13. Ibid., p.12.

strictly ceremonial. This after all had been the great advantage of combining this first difficult encounter with the tangi, fortuitous though it had been. It was so much easier to meet Grey, who had known Takerei well, when they had in mourning a common purpose with the Premier, and when the presence of the hapu made it possible to evade serious discussion without giving offence.¹⁴ As yet the Waikato chiefs could do no more. They would greet Grey, would mourn with him, but they could not bring themselves to talk business.

It was in these circumstances that the initiative passed to Rewi Maniapoto. Rewi's presence at a Waikato meeting was in a sense accidental; he had attended only by special invitation from the Premier and even then he was with difficulty persuaded to remain at Te Kopua.¹⁵ He would much have preferred, it seems, to meet Grey alone at his own kainga. He had thus not been present to welcome the Premier and remained out of sight in his tent all the first day.¹⁶ The next day, however, he put in an appearance. And while the Waikato hesitated he saw his chance to turn the meeting to his own advantage. Leaping into the breach, he invited Grey to visit the Maoris much more often. He urged the chiefs to

14. It would seem that the invitations were sent just before Takerei's death, but that after the tangi, which was held at Hikurangi, the chiefs deliberately tried to detain the hapu. The New Zealand Herald, 19 January 1878; AJHR, 1878, G-3, p.9.

15. AJHR, 1878, G-3, pp.7-9.

16. Ibid., p.10.

arranged the next encounter where business might be done. Now that the ice had been broken they must plan for the future. "...let the past be past", he adjured the Waikato, "do not find fault..."¹⁷ It was, of course, rather easier for him; he had not suffered the humiliation of losing his land.

It is just possible that Rewi was speaking in accordance with a pre-arranged plan, that he had been chosen to deliver the crucial speech and that he had expressed therein Waikato feelings. But it seems improbable. The contrast between Rewi's decisiveness and the Waikato's irresolution was indeed painfully obvious. While the Waikato chiefs skulked in their tents he conducted, with huge success, his own private negotiations. He was, it was announced at the close of the meeting, to visit Wellington during the next parliamentary session. He was to build a house at Te Kopua in which to accommodate the ministers when next they came. He complained about land agents who negotiated inside the confiscated boundary, and had Grey promise conditionally that an end would be put to such things.¹⁸ And finally, he achieved his ambition of arranging the next gathering. Grey, he said, must see the Kingites four times. "The first was the planting of the tree, the second would be the promoting of its growth, and at the third and fourth times the tree will be flourishing and bear fruit."¹⁹ It was time,

17. AJHR, 1878, G-3, p.4.

18. Ibid., pp.5, 13.

19. Ibid., p.5.

in his opinion, that they got on with the cultivation. The second meeting was to be in March 1878.

The King must have watched Rewi's flirtation with the Government with growing unease. He himself had perhaps hoped for more from the meeting. But he dare not outrun his advisers or alienate his chiefs. The only business he was able to transact with Grey was therefore purely personal. It was arranged for instance that a couple of children should attend St. Stephen's School in Auckland. More important, Tawhiao and Manuhiri agreed to seek Crown grants for the few pieces of their land which, being Potatau's own property, had escaped confiscation.²⁰ Beyond this, the King could do nothing. He was even obliged to watch Rewi attempting to usurp his prerogative of acting as host at the next meeting.²¹ The fruiting of the Waikato tree must indeed have seemed a long way off.

There was still, however, the March meeting. Rewi might have been helpful to the Premier, but Grey still knew too little of his intentions to think it prudent to give up Tawhiao altogether. He would give him another chance. And yet the King hesitated. It was late in the season and his people had already lost a lot of harvest time. Men wanted to get their crops in before they left for another lengthy meeting,²² In the meantime preparations were

20. AJHR, 1878, G-3, p.5. The 2 blocks were Te Pukapuka (at Remuera)- 94 acres- and the land at Mangere which the Government had granted Potatau. The Kingites also asked that Tangirau, **their** burial ground at Ngaruawahia, be made inalienable.

21. Waikato Times, 5 February 1878.

22. Waikato Times, 16 February 1878 and 16 March 1878.

further delayed by the theft of some cattle by a party of Maoris at the previous meeting and the confiscation in reprisal by the outraged pakeha owners of a bullock team belonging to Te Ngakau,²³ one of Tawhiao's counsellors, a grievance which Te Ngakau insisted must be settled before he would meet the Premier again.²⁴

The root of the trouble, however, was a simple aversion from beginning negotiations with the Government. Te Wheoro found it hard to persuade the Waikato to contemplate another meeting. As late as 27 March 1878 Mair wrote: "Te Wheoro is now worrying them to fix the day and formally invite Hori [Grey] and they wont (sic) do it."²⁵ In the end, it was only after a meeting of Ngatimaniapoto at Te Kuiti in March, when it was stated that Rewi would be the Premier's host,²⁶ that the Waikato chiefs were moved to action. Two weeks later Tawhiao and Te Ngakau arrived in Alexandra to meet Te Wheoro and arranged for the invitation to be sent.²⁷

On 9 April 1878 the ministers duly arrived in the Waikato, only to find that they were still unwelcome. Perhaps, as Tawhiao

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23. Wiremu Hunia Te Ngakau, generally mentioned as a Ngatihaua, but sometimes as Ngatihourua. He was not a great chief but was very able and a good orator, and was very influential with Tawhiao. The Waikato chiefs did not like him.
24. Waikato Times, 19 March 1878. There was a long drawn out correspondence on the matter, which was not settled until the May meeting.
25. W.G. Mair to Gilbert, 27 March 1878, Mair Family Papers 5.
26. Waikato Times, 16 March 1878. The date of the meeting is uncertain; it was called for 1 March but seems not to have been held for another ten days. (Invitation in the collection of Bob Mahuta.)
27. Waikato Times, 30 March 1878.

said, the preparations were simply incomplete.²⁸ But it was a rather lame excuse. It seems more likely that there was some cavilling in the ranks at the last moment, and that the King had no choice but to call the meeting off, or at least postpone it until the more unwilling were ready to co-operate.²⁹ After a couple of days the ministers had therefore to slink back to Auckland. Fortunately they had not long to wait. A week later Te Wheoro, no doubt exhausted, arrived with a new invitation. And so the meeting was finally arranged for the end of the month.³⁰

In the event, Grey did not return until 7 May. For the assembled Waikatos³¹ it was a miserable delay. It was cold and wet and until the visitors turned up they were kept on short rations. Nevertheless, when Grey and Sheehan at last rode into Hikurangi they received a splendid welcome. To the joy of the reporters Tawhiao took tea with his visitors. Then everyone waited. There was no meeting that day, and none the next. Tawhiao consulted with his counsellors.³² On the third morning it rained, and it was not until lunch that the weather cleared and business began. The Maoris assembled on an improvised marae in front of the Premier's tent and Tawhiao rose to speak.

28. Waikato Times, 4 April 1878.

29. On 13 April 1878 the Waikato Times reported that ministers would not be returning at all "...as all idea of holding it has been abandoned by the principal natives concerned."

30. Waikato Times, 18 April 1878.

31. 2,500 to 5,000 were estimated to be present.

32. AJHR, 1878, G-3, pp.15-18; Waikato Times, 9 May 1878.

It was an address which was to set the tone of the meeting. "It is good you are sitting there and listening", he said. "...I conduct my own affairs, and you conduct your affairs... You are here and law is here, and God is above us. This is love."³³ And beyond this the ministers found it difficult to progress. The King spoke of love and friendship; Patara Te Tuhi, the Waikato spokesman, agreed that it was time to do business but would not introduce any. In vain Te Wheoro and Paora Tuhaere, the great chief of Orakei, urged them from the Government side to begin.³⁴ In vain Sir George spoke of his desire to end their isolation.³⁵ Waikato were impeded, as always, by the problem of their lost lands. It had prevented them from making progress at their first meeting; it seemed likely now to bring matters to a standstill. The problem as finally outlined by Patara Te Tuhi³⁶ was simple. They could not begin discussion with the Premier until all matters of dissension between them had first been mentioned. Since, however, they knew it would blight negotiations to bring up their lands they were at a loss to know how to proceed.³⁷

They were not alone in their difficulty. If the Maoris were

33. AJHR, 1878, G-3, p.18.

34. Paora, chief of the Ngatiwhatua, was also influential with the King party and had attended previous negotiations.

35. AJHR, 1878, G-3, pp.18-19.

36. Wiremu Patara Te Tuhi, the King's brother-in-law, another of his chief counsellors. He had been the editor of the Kingite paper, Te Hokioi.

37. AJHR, 1878, G-3, p.19.

impeded by the confiscation, it was as much an encumbrance to the Premier. His awareness of the need to make some concession, of his disadvantage in having to address himself to a vast assembly, explains perhaps the extravagant proposals which he laid before the King. Had he been able to speak privately with Tawhiao, he could have bargained far more effectively. But since the Maoris insisted on public meetings,³⁸ he had to attempt to deal with what he judged to be the consensus of Kingite opinion. He was forced, in short, to mention the lands. His proposals therefore were a mixture of personal gestures to the King and promises of wider advantages for his people. He offered first to recognize Tawhiao's supreme authority "within your district". Tawhiao alone would have the power to authorize surveys, roads, and land transactions; this power the Government would recognize. The King would receive £500 a year towards the expenses of his government and 500 acres of land at Ngaruawahia. The Government moreover would build him a meeting house at Kawhia. But Grey's trump card lay in his two new propositions. He would return to Tawhiao all the land on the western banks of the Waikato and Waipa rivers which had not as yet been sold to Europeans.³⁹ And in every Waikato township, he would set

38. Grey put it to the meeting that he should speak with Tawhiao alone but was turned down. AJHR, 1878, G-3, p.19.

39. Although McLean had offered to return "certain lands", he evidently thought to give Tawhiao land which the Government had been purchasing for the purpose. Grey's seems to have been a much more generous proposal.

aside reserves of land to be held in trust for Tawhiao's people.⁴⁰

They were the best proposals the Waikato were ever to receive. Grey could do no more. He had already exhausted the forbearance of the settlers.⁴¹ He had probably offered far more than he himself thought fit. But it hardly mattered. As it turned out, the gap between the Premier's conception of the Waikato and Tawhiao's was too great to be bridged. The King sought not concessions, but cession. He demanded in his turn a vast tract of land extending from the Mangatawhiri, his old boundary, down to Taupo and thence west to Mokau. This was henceforth to be his land, under his sole authority. Grey might govern the rest of the North Island, but the Waikato and the King Country were to be Tawhiao's domain.⁴² In short, Tawhiao wanted back his lands and he wanted Government recognition of his supreme authority within his enlarged kingdom.

On the face of it, Tawhiao spoke in earnest. The matter, he said, must be settled now. "...this is the day on which we shall settle my part of the business. I want to finish to-day..."⁴³ Again, he made his proposals, he emphasized, from a position of

40. For a full text of the proposals see Proposals made by Sir George Grey to Tawhiao, at Meeting at Hikurangi, on the 10th May, 1878. Grey Collection, GNZM, 546a.

41. The Waikato Times was appalled by the last two proposals which, it said, placed the burden of paying for the opening of the King Country very unfairly on the Waikato alone. Why could not reserves be held in Christchurch and Dunedin too? Waikato Times, 14 May 1878.

42. Waikato Times, 11 May 1878, 2nd. edition.

43. AJHR, 1878, G-3, p.20.

strength. "This is my Parliament. I will not call another."⁴⁴
 He would speak, he said, with Grey, but with no other; it was no use for others to follow. His business was with Grey. It was Grey after all who had taken away his people's lands. He surely should be able, as other negotiators had not been, to give them back.⁴⁵
 The next morning, therefore, he turned down the Premier's offer. It was politely done. He thought it was very good but he could not accept it until he had consulted other absent tribes who had always been his firm supporters. He would call another meeting later.⁴⁶

In point of fact his hands were tied. His speech to the Premier had expressed merely the consensus of chiefly opinion; it was not necessarily his own demands which he voiced. He too was hampered by having to speak in public. And it may well be that he too spoke of the Waikato lands because the presence of the tribes made it impossible for him not to do so.⁴⁷ He was himself after all far more interested in the exercise of his authority than in the extent of territory in which it was to run. He himself might have been prepared to accept Grey's proposals, to take his money and land and Government recognition. If he had had a free hand to negotiate such an agreement he would in fact have gained, though

44. Waikato Times, 11 May 1878, 2nd. edition.

45. The King and Te Ngakau both pointed out that Grey's was a different government and that this was the first time he had heard their proposals. AJHR, 1878, G-3, p.19.

46. Ibid., p.21.

47. Cf. the wording of the tribal prayers to Tawhiao at the meeting. Ibid., p.19.

within a limited area, some real power. But he could not immediately accept a settlement which left all but his most immediate followers unprovided for. And so he was obliged to throw away his opportunity, no doubt hoping as he did so that by the next meeting the Premier would be more pliable, the assembled tribes more complaisant.

The meeting, however, had not been a total loss. Surrounded by his people Tawhiao had made his demands and had refused the inferior offer of the Premier. He had in short shown his potential power. But to whom had he displayed it? He was anxious, it is true, to impress Grey with the fact that his authority was still considerable, still something to be reckoned with.⁴⁸ But it seems that he wanted far more to awe his own people. He was speaking not only to the assembled Waikato but to the errant Ngatimaniapoto. "Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto", he had said at the very beginning of the meeting, "are one people."⁴⁹ It was, of course, more an appeal to the absent tribe than a statement of fact. It was a reminder of their duty to the King and of his authority over the whole of the King Country. Indeed, Tawhiao went further. For the meeting with the pakeha ministers had offered him a grand opportunity of reaffirming his supremacy. McLean, and Grey after him, had shown him that he need no longer remain a mere figurehead, that with Government help he might exercise a new active authority. And it was therefore in the presence of the pakeha dignitaries that he

48. He was reported to have been anxious to make it a very large meeting. AJHR, 1878, G-3, p.28.

49. Ibid., p.18.

asserted his mana over all the Kingite lands. It was not, perhaps, a claim which he would have made on his own account.

It soon emerged that Tawhiao had reckoned without Rewi Maniapoto. Rewi had not attended the May meeting. It is unlikely, despite his protestations at Kopua, that he ever intended to go. The only important Ngatimaniapoto chief present was Hauauru; he was probably sent not so much as a representative as an observer.⁵⁰ Rewi meanwhile was already proceeding with his own negotiations. His first messenger arrived while Grey was still at Kopua on his way to the meeting, to express Rewi's hope that if Grey were unable to reach Hikurangi, he would at least come to see him before he left the Waikato. He would prefer, he said, a separate interview.⁵¹ Encouraged by Grey's reply that he would try to meet him, Rewi kept up a barrage of invitations throughout the meeting. While it was still in progress he went up to Te Kuiti to consult with his tribe as to the matters which should be discussed with the Premier. It was probably here that it was agreed not to hold a tribal meeting with Grey in the meantime. Finally- whether as the result of a personal or a tribal decision is uncertain- it was arranged that Rewi would meet him privately.⁵²

During an hour and a half conference with Grey in the house

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50. AJHR, 1878, G-3, p.29. When Grey subsequently met Rewi he already knew of everything that had taken place at Hikurangi.
51. Manga [Rewi Maniapoto] to George Grey, 6 May 1878. Grey Collection. Maori Letters 1-320, GNZ/MA/73. See also AJHR, 1878, G-3, p.17. There was some doubt as to whether the bad weather would allow Grey to get through.
52. AJHR, 1878, G-3, pp.34,37.

of a settler named Ross, near the Puniu, Rewi played his master stroke. Neatly evading Grey's repeated inquiries as to whether he approved of what had been done at Hikurangi, Rewi invited the Premier to his own meeting, to be held at the Waitara in June. He left the anxious Minister far behind. Grey's chief concern had been to ascertain Rewi's reaction to his negotiations with the King. Rewi flummoxed him by treating Hikurangi as completely irrelevant. He could talk only of Waitara. "I wish you to be present", he said, "as the meeting is of importance."⁵³ Tawhiao had been outplayed. He might parade his power; it was Rewi, as Grey well knew, who held the lands. If Rewi showed himself co-operative, the Government might have no further need of Tawhiao. And Rewi, having gained the Government's attention, devoted himself thereafter to retaining it.

It was to prove no difficult task. Waikato seemed determined to put off their tribal deliberations as long as possible. Tawhiao evidently tried to get a meeting together soon after Grey had left, but without success.⁵⁴ Probably his people wanted a respite from meetings. But there were more important reasons why they were anxious for a postponement. There seems to have been a general unwillingness to discuss the proposals.⁵⁵ Even at Hikurangi Te Ngakau had announced brusquely that: "... it is for us to consider

53. AJHR, 1878, G-3A.

54. Waikato Times, 23 May 1878.

55. Ibid. 30 May 1878.

these proposals if it takes us ten years."⁵⁶ And the chiefs thereafter adopted the attitude that there was plenty of time; there was no need for hurry. Perhaps, in view of the tensions already existing in the movement, they hesitated to raise a subject which would certainly be controversial, which might even cause an irremediable split. Perhaps they hoped that by waiting they might get better terms.⁵⁷ In any case, they were playing straight into Rewi's hands.

Tawhiao did his best. While Rewi was proceeding ceremonially down the coast from Mokau to Waitara⁵⁸ the King, with a large retinue, arrived unexpectedly in mid-June at Raglan. It was the first time he had entered a European settlement since the war. The settlers, duly impressed by the honour conferred upon them, entertained him at a public dinner with which the King, who made a gracious speech, was immensely pleased- he stayed until two o'clock in the morning, enjoying the dancing and minstrel entertainment. He took tea during his stay with many of the settlers, insisting on meeting and shaking hands with all of them. And he announced that he hoped soon to visit them again.⁵⁹ He may have cheered the settlers, but he cannot have warmed Grey's heart. Goodwill was a poor substitute for action. And if the King had hoped to divert

56. AJHR, 1878, G-3, p.39.

57. The Alexandra correspondent of the Waikato Times asserted that many of his Maori friends believed this. Waikato Times, 4 June 1878.

58. Ibid., 4 June 1878 and 18 June 1878.

59. For an account of the visit see R.S. Bush to Native Minister, 17 June 1878, AJHR, 1878, G-1A, No.2.

Grey's attention, he was disappointed. The Premier was already preparing to leave for Waitara.

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Rewi had announced his meeting for 21 June 1878. Arriving himself the previous day he entered Waitara with 200 of his people amidst great rejoicing.⁶¹ There followed the usual delays while the rest of the participants assembled. But even after the ministers had come, even after the Wellington delegates had arrived by special train, Rewi still postponed discussion. He was waiting, as so often, for the weather. For days it had been pouring with rain and inevitably very few people had come to the meeting. He had in the end to be content with a much smaller gathering than the vast affair he had envisaged.⁶² His audience nevertheless was distinguished. The great southern chiefs, Matene te Whiwhi, Mete Kingi, the Hon. Wi Tako, Karaitiana, Wi Parata, were all present.⁶³ Only one chief had let him down. Most of all he had wanted Wiremu Kingi to be present.⁶⁴ But Kingi, unable to bear the sight of a Europeanized Waitara, never came.⁶⁵ Finally, Rewi started without him.

It was, as he had intended, very much his own meeting. For

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60. Waikato Times, 11 June 1878. He had hoped to have it on the 30th, but Grey preferred to come earlier.
61. *Ibid.*, 22 June 1878. There is some confusion about the date. It may not have been till 21 June.
62. *Ibid.*, 25 June 1878.
63. The tribes represented were Ngatimaniapoto, Ngatiraukawa, Wanganui, Ngatikahungunu, Ngatiawa, Taranaki. *AJHR*, 1878, G-3, p.46.
64. The Ngatiawa chief whose refusal to allow land at Waitara to be sold by a minor chief had led to the outbreak in Taranaki of war with the Government.
65. He started out many times but, as often, his heart failed him and he turned back. Waikato Times, 27 June 1878.

three days he conducted it entirely by himself. He had sent all the invitations; now he decided the subjects for discussion, the length of the debates, and the speakers. Few, as it happened, were allowed to speak. The great chiefs were permitted a few words of greeting, of advice, and of congratulations but no more.⁶⁶ They had been assembled merely as spectators. Rewi had come to talk to Grey. That he wished to do it as grandly and as publicly as possible hardly altered the point of the meeting. He and Grey were to settle the troubles of the island; the perennial dissension between Maori and pakeha was to be ended. And this, Rewi explained, was why the meeting had to be at Waitara. The troubles had started at Waitara; they must perforce be ended there.⁶⁷ Waitara had been chosen as the symbol of the quarrel; as such it was to be given into the joint care of Rewi and Grey. It was symbolically therefore that Rewi demanded, in the name of the tribes: "I wish you to give me Waitara" and symbolically that Grey replied: "Waitara is now given up to both of us. It belongs to us two."⁶⁸ The two of them, in short, as representatives of their respective peoples, would make peace.

66. Rewi specifically stated that only the 'great ones' might speak. On the conduct of the meeting see AJHR, 1878, G-3, The Waitara Meeting, p.46 et seq.

67. Ibid., pp.46-7.

68. The point is important. Grey himself, unaware of Rewi's intentions, was taken completely by surprise at his request. He hastily adjourned the meeting to confer privately with Rewi and it was not until the next day, when the significance of the chief's remarks had been explained to him, that he was able to reply with any confidence. Ibid., pp.50-1.

As Rewi later explained: "... I did not ask for Waitara in the thoughts that Europeans have. I said, 'Give me back the evil, that we (Grey, Sheehan, and I) might plant the tree of peace upon it for both races'." ⁶⁹ Only when this had been done, only when peace had been formally made, could they enter into negotiations about future Maori-pakeha relations. The past remained as yet unresolved.

Rewi may well have been sincere. Perhaps he did find it ludicrous that Grey should be making peace with the King, whose participation in the war had hardly been fervent while he, who had done so much towards bringing about the invasion of the Waikato, ⁷⁰ should remain unreconciled. Perhaps he did think that Waitara was the proper place for a peace-making; his great concern, after all, had been that Kingi should participate in it. It remains difficult nevertheless entirely to credit the purity of his motives. He had not invited Tawhiao or Waikato to be present. ⁷¹ He had simply left the King Country with his chiefs and gone to hold his meeting in Taranaki. He made no pretence of speaking in the King's name. And however he might insist that it was his right, in fact his duty, as the protagonist in the fighting, he could not disguise the

69. The extract is from a letter which he sent to The Taranaki Herald, published 11 August 1878.

70. He often said that he had been responsible for bringing war to the Waikato.

71. He sent an invitation, much later, to the King to join him, which was turned down. Waikato Times, 22 October 1878.

'act that he was entirely usurping the function of the King. Peace could not be concluded in the south, witnessed only by the kupapa chiefs. It was for the King, surrounded by his vanquished tribes, to come to terms with the Government.

Nor did Rewi stop here. The making of peace, he emphasized, was far from being the only point of the meeting. It was only the necessary preliminary to the important business that was to follow. He envisaged himself in a rôle which extended far beyond that of a mere mediator. "I am speaking", he said, "... with respect to the division that is between Europeans and Natives, and of the cessation of all further trouble, so that the Natives and Europeans may be one people..."⁷² He was anxious in fact to put himself at the centre of the negotiations not only of the past but of the future. "Let us now plant that tree, and, should it grow well, we may plant cuttings at other places which will also succeed. If it is not planted here you will not be able to get young trees from it to plant in any other place."⁷³

It was a shaft intended for Tawhiao. Rewi's were the key negotiations; only if his were successful would those of the King rest on a firm basis. Or perhaps, he meant, Tawhiao would have no choice but to come to terms. And Rewi was determined on success. "I am going to remain at Waitara", he announced. "I am not going to return North at present until a complete settlement has taken

72. AJHR, 1878, G-3, p.50.

73. Ibid., p.47.

place."⁷⁴ When the people were ready, there would be another meeting. He and Sir George meanwhile would proceed to discuss the future relations of the two races. "...our bodies have become one", he said triumphantly, "but the law which will regulate our connection remains yet to be laid down."⁷⁵ The reconciliation, however, was not so easily to be achieved.

74. AJHR, 1878, G-3, p.51.

75. Ibid., p.52.

Chapter III

The King's Great Meeting

Rewi remained in Taranaki until the end of 1878. His first intention had been to stay until the following March, when his second and final meeting with Grey would take place.¹ But he had reckoned without his tribe. Ngatimaniapoto, it soon became evident, were far from happy with their chief's prolonged absence. In September they sent to ask him to return "to settle some tribal matters".² They were airily dismissed. Their request, said Rewi, was quite unjustified.³ The King himself made the next attempt. A small delegation arrived to remind Rewi that since the land had long ago been returned by Potatau to Ngatiawa he could have no business at Waitara.⁴ In November he was censured by a special meeting held at Hikurangi.⁵ Subjected to this increasing pressure Rewi eventually gave in. Late in November, after a further summons from Ngatimaniapoto,⁶ he wrote to the King announcing his impending

1. Rewi had announced his meeting for 18 March. Rewi Maniapoto to Grey and Sheehan, 29 July 1878, in Waikato Times, 8 August 1878. After this, however, there is very little mention of the meeting and it never took place.
2. Waikato Times, 17 September 1878.
3. Rewi to Sheehan, 16 September 1878, published in the Waikato Times, 17 September 1878.
4. R.S. Bush to Native Minister, 19 November 1878, AJHR, 1879, Session-1, G-1C, p.1.
5. Ibid.
6. Probably contained in the letter sent by Tukorehu (Rewi's first cousin) which Taonui referred to later at the Te Kopua meeting. Waikato Times, 14 January 1879. Since Taonui maintained that they returned as soon as they received it, he could hardly have been referring to the earlier message.

return.⁷

His home-coming, however, was hardly the sort of thing Ngatimaniapoto had had in mind. In Taranaki Rewi was given a prolonged and vociferous farewell. He had a joyful reunion with Sheehan who arrived at Waitara on 25 November⁸ to celebrate the completion of Rewi's new house, and then returned with him to New Plymouth. He held a levée, went to the pantomime, and attended a banquet held by the citizens in his honour.⁹ It was not until 2 December that he left, no doubt reluctantly, for home. His capitulation was nevertheless incomplete. In an act of pure defiance, Rewi invited the Native Minister to meet him later in the month at Puniu.¹⁰

It was a bad mistake. Ngatimaniapoto, their patience already exhausted, were in no mood for such gestures. They had no desire to entertain Government guests; they wished to call their chief to account. They had not, they complained, been consulted as to what was to be said at Waitara. And Rewi's decision to hold a new meeting without first returning home had made them very restless.¹¹

Their chief was becoming too remote from tribal opinion. He had

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7. Waikato Times, 12 November 1878. See also R.S. Bush to Native Minister, 3 December 1878, AJHR, 1879, Session 1, G-1C, p.2.
 8. His invitation seems to have been sent at the beginning of November. Waikato Times, 7 November 1878; Te Wananga, No.47, 23 November 1878, p.585.
 9. Waikato Times, 26 and 28 November 1878.
 10. He originally invited Sheehan to proceed with him through the King Country. Waikato Times, 21 November 1878. But the invitation was withdrawn after he had conferred with Sheehan at Waitara. Ibid., 28 November and 5 December 1878.
 11. For the Ngatimaniapoto reaction to Rewi's doings at Waitara see Waikato Times, 14 January 1879.

already declared the Mokau open to trade and had even accepted shares in the trading vessel, the Hannah Mokau.¹² He had allowed James Hector, the Government geologist, to travel with him through the King Country.¹³ And there seemed to be a grave danger that he would forget himself altogether and offer lands to the Government for the Auckland-Taranaki railway.¹⁴ The press indeed expected the event daily. At the beginning of the new session of Parliament, the Governor had told members that they would be asked to consider a grant for the railway.¹⁵ In December Sheehan had been busy on the West Coast acquiring land.¹⁶ In vain Rewi protested that he had never mentioned railways; Ngatimaniapoto were no longer disposed to trust him. "...his people think", wrote Mair, "that he has been

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12. AJHR, 1878, G-3, p.46. The Hannah Mokau had been specially built, for opening up the Mokau, by Joshua Jones and two other settlers who had gained a footing in this previously inaccessible area. In order to persuade Rewi and Te Wetera to allow the vessel to trade there, the Government had bought each of them an interest of £100 in the vessel. Memo. for Native Minister, 16 October 1879, M.A. 23/7, N.C. 79/5127. Later, when the ship was in danger of being sold to pay off the mortgage, the Government became its owners, "it being a matter of political importance that she should be kept in the trade...", T.W. Lewis, Memo. for Native Minister, 28 February 1879, M.A. 23/7, N&D. 79/677.
 13. Dr Hector had been included in the first invitation to Sheehan. Waikato Times, 21 November 1878.
 14. In 1878 the longest of the three gaps in the Main Trunk railway was from Te Awamutu to Inglewood (Taranaki). AJHR, 1878, E-1, p.iv.
 15. Governor's speech, 26 July 1878, NZPD 1878, Vol.28, p.1.
 16. Waikato Times, 17 December 1878. He announced that he would shortly send out a surveying party. See also his speech in Taranaki published in the Waikato Times, 3 December 1878.

going further than he had any right to go and he has lost caste immensely."¹⁷

In these circumstances Rewi's manoeuvres to extricate himself were doomed to failure. Far from deflecting the criticism of his tribe, he succeeded merely in exposing the Native Minister to the disapproval which he himself had sought to escape.¹⁸ Sheehan arrived in January 1879 to find himself comprehensively snubbed. He had hoped for an invitation to the Ngatimaniapoto meeting called for 10 January; he was forbidden to attend.¹⁹ He would in any case hardly have enjoyed it. The meeting had been convened after all to consider Rewi's recent activities and his reported action in giving up lands to the Government.²⁰ Rewi, sensibly enough, had refused to attend. He had made arrangements to visit Taupo, he said; he would not speak now, but at Kopua. But in his absence he came off rather badly. "I do not care for Rewi or his sayings or doings", said one influential chief. "He is only a dog. Let him run about."²¹ And he urged the meeting to look on Rewi's activities as an aberration and to take no notice of them. Taonui,²² who had been with

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17. W.G. Mair to Gilbert Mair, 2 January 1879. Mair Family Papers 5.
 18. It seems probable that by introducing Sheehan into the Waikato Rewi had also hoped to put himself in a strong position at Tawhiao's March meeting.
 19. W.G. Mair, Diary, 9 January 1879. The press tried to make it appear as if Sheehan had turned down an invitation.
 20. Waikato Times, 14 January 1879.
 21. Ibid. The speaker was Hauauru, chief of the Ngatimakore section of the Ngatimaniapoto.
 22. An important Ngatimaniapoto chief who was a great landowner in the heart of the King Country.

Rewi at Waitara, tried to defend him. They had acted, he submitted, only in the interests of Tawhiao; they had come home as soon as they were summoned. But Ngatimaniapoto were not interested in explanations. They left Taonui alone and contented themselves with a display of tribal solidarity. "Let us all keep together, as we have hitherto done, under Tawhiao", urged Hauauru, in a speech that met with general support.²³ Some enthusiasts even called for all the lands to be handed over again to the King. It was not a popular proposition- Ngatimaniapoto were always very touchy about their lands- but it showed the extent to which opposition to Rewi's junketings had grown.

Rewi had in fact succeeded, at Waitara, in effecting a reconciliation between Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto. They had united to condemn his independent negotiations; they combined, now that he had returned, to reprimand him for his premature invitation to the Native Minister. Manuhiri, Te Tuhi, and Honana Maioha were all at the Ngatimaniapoto meeting. And it was Waikato who had taken the lead in rebuffing Sheehan.²⁴ While he was still on his way from Wellington they had telegraphed that he would not be allowed on any pretext at all to go to Te Kuiti, "...lest he say we have participated in the sin of Manga..."²⁵ Te Wheoro spent a fortnight with

23. Waikato Times, 14 January 1879.

24. W.G. Mair to Gilbert Mair, 2 January 1879, Mair Family Papers 5.

25. W.G. Mair to Gilbert Mair, 22 December 1878, Mair Family Papers 5. See also W.G. Mair, Diary, 21 December 1878.

the King on the West Coast, trying to persuade him to interview the Native Minister. But his was a hopeless task.²⁶ Tawhiao was not going to appear as a guest at Rewi's meeting; he would do his own inviting. He remained, implacable, at Raglan.

Sheehan's position, therefore, was unenviable. Forbidden to attend the meeting, prohibited even from crossing the border,²⁷ he was shunned by both Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto. And the gathering which Rewi organized for him at Puniu must have seemed a poor consolation. Ngatimaniapoto naturally were not present.²⁸ The subjects for discussion, as announced by Rewi, were inter-tribal boundary disputes which had been raised by Ngatiraukawa. Chiefs and Native Minister alike must have found the meeting frustrating in the extreme. To Ngatiraukawa, Rewi's only reply was that he, as their chief, would deal with their claims. Sheehan dutifully backed him up.²⁹ It is very doubtful, however, whether he understood the full import of Rewi's assertion. For Rewi had chosen the issue not only to demonstrate to Sheehan the full extent of his territorial power, but also to intimate for the first time the new rôle which he had marked out for himself.

His plan unfolded only slowly. Strangely enough, he made no

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26. W.G. Mair to Gilbert Mair, 22 December 1878, and 2 January 1879, Mair Family Papers 5.
27. W.G. Mair to Laura, 27 January 1879, Mair Family Papers 5. See also W.G. Mair, Diary, 9 January 1879.
28. They were reported to be 'represented' at the meeting, but since they were busy at the time with their own meeting, it is unlikely that many of them were there.
29. For an account of the meeting see Waikato Times, 9 January 1879.

announcement while Sheehan was in the King Country. But of his new attitude there was abundant evidence. When Sheehan returned after the meeting to spend the night at Kihikihi Rewi unexpectedly went with him. Next morning he graciously received an address from the settlers and then toured the township, visiting ancestral graves and the church. At 11 o'clock Rewi announced that he wished to make a public speech. And he delivered to the assembled settlers a stirring oration, recounting his part in the wars and the subsequent endeavours of the Government to make peace. Now, however, he pointed out, it was of his own accord that he came amongst them. "Let your acquaintance with me be straightforward, and mine will be the same with you."³⁰ His meaning was plain. Rewi wished to end his isolation. His ceremonial entrance into Kihikihi seemed a clear indication that he was coming to accept the intrusion of the pakeha into the King Country.

Rewi had in fact already gone far beyond mere acceptance of the European. Progress, he had decided, was positively to be encouraged. Impeded as he was in his aspirations by the King Party, however, he was driven eventually to announce a scheme which amounted to a virtual break with Tawhiao. He himself, he said, would resume possession of all those lands which he had originally handed to the King. It was a vast area. From Aotea to Pirongia it extended past Alexandra to Te Awamutu, then to Maungatautari, south to Taupo and west to the White Cliffs. Within these boundaries, Rewi announced,

30. Waikato Times, 11 January 1879.

he would make all the laws for Maoris and Europeans alike. His proposal in short differed little from that which the King had made at Hikurangi.³¹ As such, it amounted to a rejection of kingly authority. And if Rewi chose such a course, none could prevent him.³² These, he reminded the King, were Ngatimaniapoto lands. It was he, as their chief, who enjoyed the right of negotiating their future. Without his support, it was evident, Tawhiao's claims were empty. Rewi chose to ignore them because he disagreed with the ends to which they were directed, because he himself had a far grander conception of how the lands might best be used. His aim in reasserting his mana, it soon appeared, was no less than to exercise his influence towards opening the King Country by means of the railway. His enthusiasm for the railway was boundless. At a meeting of the chiefs of Tokanui, he urged upon them its advantages. "...if the surveyors should decide to run the line or lines over their gardens, or even through their houses, [they were] not to object... because there was no treasure so valuable to great landowners of the island as railways."³³ And was he not the greatest landowner in the centre of the island?³⁴

31. Waikato Times, 21 January 1879. It was for this reason no doubt that in Auckland Sheehan denied there was any truth in the report of Rewi's scheme. Rewi's meaning was, however, rather different from Tawhiao's and he told Mair he thought Sheehan would accept his plan. W.G. Mair to Laura, 27 January 1879, Mair Family Papers 5.

32. Cf. his later speech: "...if I wished to sell these lands no one could stop me." N.Z. Herald, 19 May 1879.

33. Waikato Times, 13 March 1879.

34. The amount of land which Rewi could claim in the Court was not in fact large, but his chiefly mana lay over a far greater area.

Could his people then not secure their future by careful use of their resources? He had seen only too often the plight of tribes who had sold their lands. Ngatimaniapoto would not only conserve, but would increase its wealth. This explains why it was that, despite his advocacy of the railway, Rewi continued to deprecate the sale of lands to Europeans.³⁵ It was Ngatimaniapoto who were to benefit from the railway, not the pakeha.

Ngatimaniapoto were, however, as yet unappreciative of such foresight. Intent on their protection, Rewi had in the meantime to suffer the derision of his tribe: "... [they] generally think Manga has gone porangi (mad) ..." wrote Mair.³⁶ The Tokanui chiefs were totally unenthusiastic about his suggestion.³⁷ At Taupo, where he toured the settlements, he was viewed "with some doubt and suspicion".³⁸ And on his return home in March he was again publicly attacked by his people.³⁹ But the Kingites were no longer interested in Rewi; they were waiting for Tawhiao's meeting.

The King had begun his preparations well in advance. As early as the preceding October, a party arrived from Tuhua bearing gifts of food for the meeting.⁴⁰ At the end of November, Tawhiao had taken a number of his people to Kawhia and distributed them along

35. Waikato Times, 13 March 1879. The settlers had difficulty in understanding how he could do both at once; to them, assent to the railway was equivalent to the throwing open of Maori land for European settlement.

36. W.G. Mair to Laura, 27 January 1879, Mair Family Papers 5.

37. Waikato Times, 13 March 1879.

38. Ibid., 11 February 1879.

39. Ibid., 8 April 1879.

40. Ibid., 10 October 1878.

the coast in fishing parties, to spend the summer collecting provisions.⁴¹ The meeting, evidently, was to be a large one. By March, Tawhiao was still not ready. As the tribes slowly assembled, the King announced a week's postponement to the 23rd, while he completed the arrangements.⁴² Te Ngakau, who was in charge of the victuals, meanwhile continued to receive large donations of food. At the same time the King was busy supervising the completion of the Kawhia-Hikurangi road, which the Maoris had been working on for months, organising the carriage of fish from Kawhia and inspecting all the housing arrangements at Te Kopua.⁴³ He was obviously enjoying himself.

He was also looking forward to the meeting. After his encounter with the King at the end of 1878, R.S. Bush reported that Tawhiao anticipated settling everything in March, and that he seemed even to regret not having signed the Hikurangi agreement.⁴⁴ Most of all, he wished that he had settled his own position under the new scheme.⁴⁵ Such oversights, however, were soon to be remedied. "I am the cause of the delay of the meeting", said Tawhiao on one occasion; "it will not be long now."⁴⁶ And it would be a decisive

41. R.S. Bush to Native Minister, 19 November and 3 December 1878, AJHR, 1879, Session 1, G-1C, pp.1-2.

42. Waikato Times, 18 March 1879.

43. Ibid., 20 March 1879.

44. R.S. Bush to Native Minister, 19 November and 3 December 1878, AJHR, 1879, Session 1, G-1C, pp.1-2.

45. R.S. Bush to Sir G. Grey, 24 March 1879, Grey Collection, GL:NZ B.49.

46. R.S. Bush to Native Minister, 24 January 1879, AJHR, 1879, Session 1, G-1C, p.4. The occasion was his conversation with Bush at the Raglan Road disturbance. See below, p. 61.

meeting, a "day of reckoning", on which all men would gather together to listen to the King's speech. It would be his day; he alone would answer for his people.⁴⁷ It seemed indeed that the King, thwarted by Rewi in his pretensions to authority over the Ngatimaniapoto lands, was disposed to accept Grey's proposals. He had even got as far as prospecting lands for his new settlement. In December he invited Te Wheoro to accompany him and his chiefs on a tour of the Waikato.⁴⁸ Leaving Kawhia they had travelled to Raglan, then east to Rangiriri and south to Waahi, frequently stopping at different settlements before returning to Raglan. His purpose during his travels, wrote Te Wheoro, "was to observe the countryside... to find out the suitability of the area. He was very appreciative of the lands in that area." This was why Te Wheoro, a Government representative, had been invited: "because he [Tawhiao] wanted all those lands."⁴⁹ He wanted to ensure, too, that Grey knew what he had in mind. For the meeting was now not far off. And the King "...seemed only to have... the one thought... and that was- Sir George Grey's and his day."⁵⁰

Then, at the very end of March, Tawhiao suddenly changed his

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47. R.S. Bush to Sir G. Grey, 25 January 1879, Grey Collection GL:NZ B49. (Translated by the Rev. Maka Mete).
48. The party was some 70 strong, composed nearly wholly of "young chiefs of the different sections of Waikato". R.S. Bush to Native Minister, 19 December 1878, AJHR, 1879, Sess.I, G-1C, p.2.
49. Wi Te Wheoro to Sir G. Grey, 27 December 1878, Grey Collection, Maori Letters, 1-320, No.3, G.170.(Trans. Mr Bob Mahuta).
50. R.S. Bush to Native Minister, 2 June 1879, AJHR, 1879, Session 1, G-1, p.15.

mind. His meeting, he announced, would not be held for another month. He had decided to remodel it completely. Almost overnight, Grey had ceased to be important. The King, instead, would invite all the tribes to a grand parliament⁵¹ and, in their presence, he would reaffirm his sovereignty over the whole of the island.

The time must have seemed to him opportune. There was a strong and increasingly widespread feeling against Government interference with Maori lands. Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto had achieved, however momentarily, a united front. In Taranaki, Te Whiti's men had removed the surveyors from the Waimate plains.⁵² And that very month, Paora Tuhaere's parliament⁵³ had passed a unanimous resolution condemning land courts, surveyors, and Crown grants. Land, it was agreed, was to be neither surveyed nor sold; native reserves were to be made inalienable. It is likely, however, that Tawhiao was less interested in the business of the parliament than in the very fact of its meeting. It had been attended by representatives from all over the North Island, from the Thames, Ohinemuri, the lower Waikato, Kaipara and Auckland. It had seen the opening at Orakei of a great new parliament house.⁵⁴ And it is possible that the King had come

51. Waikato Times, 29 March and 5 April 1879.

52. The Government had begun surveying north of the Waingongoro river on land which in 1865 had been proclaimed as confiscated, but which had not previously been intruded on.

53. It opened at Orakei on 25 February and lasted for a week. Paora, though long an ally of the Government, had never approved of its attitude towards Maori lands. The meeting, though it passed a resolution supporting the Grey government, evidently hoped to act as a pressure group. It was decided to meet annually. AJHR, 1879, Session 2, G-8.

54. Paora called it Kohimarama in memory of the great meeting of 1860.

to see in Tuhaere a rival to himself. If men were again becoming interested in vast inter-tribal meetings, should he not ensure that it was his they attended? Was it not his duty as King to convene such gatherings? It was thus, too, that he might increase his authority, might thwart Rewi's attempt to dispense with his King. In brief, he was determined not to be overshadowed, either by Rewi or by Paora. He would hold a larger meeting than had been seen in the North Island for many years.⁵⁵

Towards the end of April the tribes began to gather. On the 23rd the Ohinemuri men set off "in a perfect cavalcade". From Hauraki, from lower Waikato, from Wanganui and the East Coast, Maoris were pouring into Alexandra. Kawhia and Aotea were reported to be deserted. On the 28th large numbers of Ngapuhi left Auckland on the Waikato train.⁵⁶ As the meeting drew closer, only two participants lagged behind. Grey and Sheehan, arriving in Auckland for the second time in two months,⁵⁷ found themselves ignored.

They were never to receive an invitation. From the first Tawhiao made it clear that he no longer wanted to see Grey. The meeting, he said, had already been arranged at Hikurangi; Grey did not therefore need to be invited a second time.⁵⁸ Thus snubbed,

55. He constantly boasted of this. Cf. e.g. Waikato Times, 17 March 1879.

56. Ibid. 24 and 29 April 1879.

57. They had, of course, come up in March. But Sheehan had had to leave in a hurry to deal with the Waimate Plains difficulty and Grey, after waiting fruitlessly at Kawau, finally went back to Wellington.

58. Waikato Times, 24 April 1879. See also AJHR, 1879, Session 1, G-2, p.1, and W.G. Mair to Laura, 18 April 1879, Mair Family Papers 5.

Grey tried initially to maintain his dignity by announcing that without a formal summons he would not leave Auckland.⁵⁹ But it was a position which he soon had to abandon. Tawhiao was not thus to be bullied. He became merely increasingly off-hand. "It was arranged there [at Hikurangi] that we should see one another once more", he said to Te Wheoro. "Sir George Grey agreed to that. But if he remains away he can do so if he chooses."⁶⁰ The Premier, unfortunately, had little choice. He was staking a great deal on a successful meeting;⁶¹ to leave without an interview, in the face of press predictions of an early settlement of the "native problem", would be for him a tremendous blow. On 30 April, accordingly, he took the train to Waikato.

His humiliation would have been less complete had he stayed in Auckland. Even before he reached Alexandra he received a telegram signed by the King, forbidding him to attend; "If you are coming to me, I have not asked you; for I have finished with you at Hikurangi. There is nothing for you to do here."⁶² The Kingites' patience had

59. Waikato Times, 29 April 1879.

60. Interview between Tawhiao and Major Te Wheoro, 30 April 1879. Statement by Te Wheoro, 4 May 1879, Grey Collection, GNZ/MMss 128.

61. After his Waitara meeting with Rewi he had cabled to Vogel in London that at his next meeting with the Kingites he would "arrange completion railroads through North Island". C.O.209/237, Agent-General, N.Z., No.8462. On 4 June 1878 the Main Trunk railway section from Hamilton to Ohaupo was opened; it was rapidly nearing Te Awamutu, only three miles from the Confiscated boundary. Grey's ministry, too, was shaky; the opening of the King Country would have been a political coup which he badly needed.

62. Tawhiao to Grey, 1 May 1879, AJHR, 1879, Session 1, G-2, p.3. Grey received the telegram while he was at Ngaruawahia.

finally been exhausted. Grey, they were afraid, might yet force his way in. In the event, their fears were justified. The same day the King allowed Te Wheoro, who had been pleading the Premier's cause at Kopua, to go to meet him. Perhaps Tawhiao regretted his abruptness. Perhaps he had been persuaded by Te Wheoro's argument that Grey should at least be given a hearing. Te Wheoro in fact tried to prove that, since the telegram was in Te Ngakau's handwriting, the King had had nothing to do with it, and that he himself was dispatched to Alexandra in order to nullify it. In view of the fact that Te Ngakau was the King's secretary, however, this was unlikely. And the argument was later destroyed by Te Ngakau, who affirmed in Tawhiao's presence that the King had seen and approved the message.⁶³ In short, it seems, Tawhiao allowed Grey to attend the gathering only after he had impressed upon him the fact that he was not welcome. If the Premier came, it would be on sufferance.

Whence, then, the royal volte-face? The explanation, it seems, is clear. The King had been persuaded that the Hikurangi proposals were not genuine. Within a few days of the arrival of Te Ngakau at Te Kopua, according to a Government chief, Tawhiao had ceased to talk of his meeting with Grey and "...said that he had been informed by Europeans⁶⁴ that the proposals of Hikurangi to return the lands

63. See Interview of Te Wheoro with Tawhiao and Te Ngakau re visit Sir G. Grey to Kopua. Statement by Te Wheoro, 4 May 1879, Grey Collection, GNZ/MMss 128.

64. If indeed Europeans did produce such information (which it is impossible to verify) they were probably anti-Grey land speculators or their agents. The proposals were not popular since it seemed that they gave Tawhiao too much while leaving Rewi, through whose lands the railway must run, unreconciled.

were not bona fide and that, if he accepted them and went to look for the lands therein alluded to, he would find a small piece in this corner and another small piece in that corner, to find which would cost more than the land would be worth, and that it was never intended to give him more than these small pieces."⁶⁵ It may be asked whether Tawhiao really believed this new "information" or whether he was merely using it as an excuse. Had he, in fact, never intended accepting Grey's proposals? His speech at the Raglan Road, for instance, could be interpreted to mean that after his meeting with Grey, there would be no chance of such an occasion arising again, since Grey would be totally excluded from his lands. Again, as early as March 1879, Mair had written that: "It is thought that the proceedings [at the meeting] will take the form of a 'whakawakanga ia Kerei raua ko Te Hianga mo a raua kino'."⁶⁶ (Grey and Sheehan will be judged for their sins.) But this, as Mair admitted, was only the expression of "popular belief" and popular belief seldom reflected what the King intended; it was more probably, since Grey was not currently in favour among the Maoris, an expression of public hope. To accept this interpretation, moreover, is to accuse Tawhiao of deliberately misleading Grey. And Tawhiao, if he was enigmatic, was never deceitful. The evidence seems indeed decisive that the King did undergo a change of heart. The difference

65. R.S. Bush to Native Minister, 2 June 1879, AJHR, Session 1, G-1, p.15. Bush's informant was Hone te One, the Kawhia chief with whom Tawhiao often stayed.

66. W.G. Mair to Laura, 1 March 1879, Mair Family Papers 5.

between his inquiries from Bush about Grey and Sheehan late in 1878 and his behaviour the following May is marked. It is, too, very difficult to explain away the King's December invitation to Te Wheoro. Why else, if he had not been thinking of the proposals, would he have included him in a purely tribal tour? Only very late in the piece, in short, did Tawhiao's views come to accord with those of the Kingites who so disliked and mistrusted Grey.

His conversion is not altogether surprising. European persuasion might have had little effect had it not been for the fact that there was too much evidence against Grey. He had already made himself unpopular by removing from office two of the Kingites' most trusted pakeha friends. On 28 August 1878 it had been announced without warning that William Searancke and William Mair⁶⁷ were both to be superseded. "It is supposed here", wrote a Wellington correspondent coyly, "that this is done to facilitate negotiations with the King's people for the cessions of territory, for the formation of a railway to Taranakia (sic)."⁶⁸ But both men went, more probably, because Grey and Sheehan simply did not like them.⁶⁹

67. Searancke was Resident Magistrate in the Waikato; William Mair was the Native Agent.

68. Waikato Times, 29 August 1878.

69. Grey especially disliked Mair, whom he suspected of undermining his negotiations behind his back, though it is clear from Mair's private papers that he was above such machinations. Both men, too, fell in the course of Sheehan's drive to replace McLean's men with his own. See A.D. Ward, Towards One New Zealand, Ph.D. thesis, A.N.U., 1967, p.412.

The Kingites were not pleased.⁷⁰ One of Tawhiao's advisers, who happened to be in Alexandra while the settlers were holding a protest meeting against Mair's dismissal, at once with all his people signed the petition. "What do the Government want to send him away for?" he asked. "He is the only one I know which does not speak untruth. He was always a just man."⁷¹ The Kingites continued thereafter to express their disapproval. Manuhiri wrote his complaint to the Government, threatening "that they [his people] will not recognize any other European as agent between them and the Government."⁷² Nor did they change their minds. W.H. Grace,⁷³ the 'safe' Government man who replaced Mair, found himself completely ignored: the Maoris did not even greet him in the street.⁷⁴ They prevented him, moreover, from discharging his duties. As the March meeting approached he went to try and get an interview with Manuhiri. At Te Kopua he was unceremoniously turned back and "warned not to try and cross the Border unless he was sent for..."⁷⁵ It was, as Grace knew, a remote possibility. Waikato did not like being trifled with.

This was, indeed, their major accusation against Grey. He was

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70. Ngatimaniapoto were as put out as Waikato. Rewi later interceded publicly for Mair with Sheehan, to the latter's great embarrassment. W.G. Mair to Gilbert Mair, 24 June 1879, Mair Family Papers 5, Series B.
71. Waikato Times, 3 September 1878. The chief is unidentified.
72. Ibid., 3 October 1878.
73. A son of the missionary, T.S. Grace, who had previously been Sheehan's secretary. He was well versed in the ways of the Maoris and later took a Maori wife, becoming friendly especially with the Ngatimaniapoto. But he arrived in unfortunate circumstances.
74. W.G. Mair to Gilbert Mair, 22 December 1878, Mair Family Papers 5.
75. W.G. Mair to Laura, 1 March 1879, Mair Family Papers 5.

hoodwinking them. "... what was said at Hikurangi has been changed", said Te Ngakau. "The land has been surveyed, roads have been made. Sir George Grey said that he and Tawhiao together would arrange all those matters."⁷⁶ On two occasions already, he had failed to consult the King. There was, first, the matter of the land at Harapepe. Immediately after Hikurangi a number of sections in Waikato townships, notably at Harapepe, had, at the order of the Crown Lands Office in Auckland, been withdrawn from sale.⁷⁷ Maori and pakeha alike assumed that they were destined for the King. But in November 1878, under pressure from the settlers,⁷⁸ they were put back on the market.⁷⁹ And the following January the Government sent a team to survey a road through the land.⁸⁰ Harapepe, which had seemed evidence of the Government's good intentions, had been lost to Waikato.

Grey's greatest mistake, however, had been the Raglan Road.

In June 1878 the Government had ordered the beginning of work on

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76. Interview of Te Wheoro with Tawhiao and Te Ngakau... Statement by Te Wheoro, 4 May 1879. Grey Collection, GNZ/MMss 128. Cf. Te Tuhi's telegram to the Government, Waikato Times, 14 August 1879.
77. Public Notification, Crown Lands Office, 22 May 1878, Waikato Times, 25 May 1878.
78. R. McMinn, campaigning for the Waipa electorate in 1878, had sought an assurance from Grey before standing that the Pirongia lands were not to be included in the lands offered to the King. Grey had replied that the Harapepe lands were not so included. Waikato Times, 2 July 1878. After the election, therefore, there were numerous complaints from people trying to buy land at Harapepe. Ibid., 10 September 1878.
79. Ibid., 23 November 1878.
80. Ibid., 21 January 1878.

the Waipa-Raglan section of the Raglan-Hamilton road. A few days later a party of Waikato led by Tu Tawhiao, the King's eldest son, stopped the work,⁸¹ and it was not until a week later that the builders were able to recommence.⁸² The Government failed to learn from the incident. In November they decided on the continuation of the road from Raglan south to Kawhia.⁸³ Again, there was interference. Soon after work began at the Aotea end, a party of Waikato arrived at the office of the overseer, R.S. Bush, to inform him they were going to stop the job. Unable, however, to persuade the labourers, mostly friendly Maoris, to cease, they returned and made violent speeches to Bush, even threatening his personal safety. Having already spoken to Tawhiao on the matter, Bush stood his ground, and the King in fact arrived from Kawhia in the middle of the dispute and quelled the demonstrators with a few words. He was, throughout the proceedings, extremely cheerful and even appeared to find them very funny.⁸⁴ But he refused to let the obstructionists have their way. Instead of giving them the encouragement they had hoped for, he spoke only of his coming meeting, when he and Grey together would settle everything. It was not for them to cause disturbance: he had yet to hold his meeting.⁸⁵ And he thought it wrong, since he

81. Waikato Times, 6 and 11 June 1878.

82. Ibid., 20 June 1878. It is probable that resistance fell through because of lack of support from the King, who was at the time courting the Raglan settlers.

83. Ibid., 19 November 1878.

84. R.S. Bush to Sir G. Grey, 25 January 1879, Grey Collection GL:NZ B49.

85. Ibid. See also Bush to Native Minister, 2 June 1879, AJHR, 1879, Session 1, G-1, pp.16-17.

had not yet accepted Grey's proposals, to interfere with the road works. Waikato should not object to the breaking of an agreement which had not as yet been signed.

The whole problem of the Raglan Road, then, rested on the interpretation of the Hikurangi proposals. "The natives are trying", wrote Bush, "to translate your proposal re return of lands on West Bank Waipa to include all land down that bank to mouth of Waikato whether in the hands of Government or private persons."⁸⁶ Since Grey's offer had been clearly phrased, it seems indeed to have been a wild expectation. But it may be that the Maoris had simply amalgamated all Grey's proposals and concluded that, within the area offered to them, Tawhiao was to be supreme, and that his sovereignty would extend over Europeans and their land. Such had been their stand as early as June 1878 at Raglan. "They Waikato have adopted an idea..." it was reported, "that if they accept the lands offered to them on the west bank of the Waipa and Waikato rivers to the sea, all residing on those lands will be under the control of the King..."⁸⁷ The Government, after all, owed them no less than a territory which would be entirely their own, where they would be safe from the interference of the pakeha government. It seems indeed that it was on this understanding alone that Grey's proposals were acceptable.

Waikato's hopes were dashed by the Raglan Road. It ran through

86. R.S. Bush to Sir G. Grey, 25 January 1879, Grey Collection, GL:NZ B49.

87. Waikato Times, 30 May 1878. See also *ibid.*, 13 June 1879.

land west of the Waipa, through land which had been offered to Tawhiao.⁸⁸ And it had been made, despite the Premier's promise, without the consent of the King. Tawhiao had forgiven Grey at Aotea because he himself, as he saw it, had been the cause of the mistake. But at Te Kopua the road appeared only as further, as in fact the greatest, proof of Grey's hypocrisy. He had never intended to respect the King's authority.

Grey's visit to Waikato could thus hardly have occurred in less auspicious circumstances. His position was embarrassing in the extreme. He arrived, amid vast publicity, with a large and eminent entourage.⁸⁹ But the difference between the Hikurangi and Te Kopua receptions could not have been more marked. On 3 May 1879 Grey and Sheehan were again paddled up the Waipa; again Te Wheoro and his Lower Waikato were there to greet him. Ngati-maniapoto, led by Rewi, participated in the welcome and it was they who conducted the ministers to their quarters. But of Tawhiao there was no sign.⁹⁰ For four days he kept the Europeans waiting. It was not until 7 May that the Maoris finally assembled to do business and the King, preceded by a large armed body-guard, marching in slow time, took his place before the meeting. Ignoring the pakeha, he held prayers with his guards. Then he rose, at

88. R.S. Bush to G. Grey, 25 January 1879, Grey Collection GL:NZ B 49. Also R.S. Bush to Native Minister, 24 January 1879, AJHR, 1879, Session 1, G-1C. On the stand of the party at Raglan, which was identical, see Waikato Times, 11 June 1878.

89. It included all the local dignitaries. AJHR, 1879, Session 1, G-2, p.1.

90. Ibid., p.2.

last, to speak.

He addressed himself not to Grey but to the assembled tribes. Of Grey's offers he made no mention. He spoke instead of his own authority. He was, he reminded the people, the son of Potatau: "Potatau alone is the ancestor of all people. Potatau alone is the chief of this Island... and you cannot deny it." Potatau had been omnipotent; Tawhiao, his son, was no less powerful. He was still the chief of the island: "...for this reason I say the land is mine." And he would defend it against all comers. Potatau had not wanted the Europeans to come; they should, therefore, have stayed away. They were still interlopers, as they had been from the very beginning. They still exercised an usurped authority. "...I have the sole right to conduct matters in my land", said the King. "No one else has any right." The pakeha had brought only strife to the island. There had already been war. But the quarrel over land continued; the pakeha would quarrel now over roads and leases. The King wanted none of it. "We must not have fighting here."⁹¹ And the only way to ensure peace was for the pakeha to withdraw; only then would evil cease. Rewi, then, was acting entirely on his own. "On that side... he is one, and I am another." For his work could bring only trouble. And Tawhiao wished to be left in peace.⁹²

The King's speech dominated the meeting. The rest of the talk

91. This emphasis would suggest that the trouble with Te Whiti, which had occurred at the end of March 1879, had also influenced the King in changing his mind about working with the Government.

92. AJHR, 1879, Session 1, G-2, p.3.

revolved solely around his words. He had not spoken of Grey's proposals; the Kingites therefore would not discuss them. The debate turned instead on Tawhiao's pretensions to sovereignty over the entire island. The kupapa chiefs rapidly tired of such stalling. One after another, they rose to condemn the King's words and to affirm their allegiance to the Queen.⁹³ They complained that they had been brought to Te Kopua for nothing. "I came to listen to what Sir George Grey and the King had to say", said Major Kemp.⁹⁴ But the King would not even attend the meetings. And his advisers came only to block any attempt at discussion of a reconciliation. To every kupapa encouragement to befriend the Government they merely reiterated one question: "When we were one, who severed us?"⁹⁵ Who had come between them and the Queen? The fighting, as Wahanui pointed out, had originated not with the Waikato but in the North, when the Treaty was first signed. "Where is this place, Waitangi? Point it out. Is it in my country?" Waikato had been the last of all to take up arms and even then it was not their fault. "The war", thundered Wahanui,⁹⁶ "commenced with Sir George Grey..⁹⁷

93. AJHR, 1879, Session 1, G-2, pp.4-7.

94. Ibid., p.5. The sentiment was repeated many times by different speakers.

95. Ibid., p.8.

96. Formerly known as Reihana te Huatare. A Ngatimaniapoto chief, a great landowner in the Upper Mokau, he had long been a supporter of the King. He was massively built and a renowned orator. This was the first time he had played a prominent part in a post-war meeting and it marks the beginning of his rise to power within the King Movement.

97. AJHR, 1879, Session 1, G-2, p.8.

Grey's gamble had not paid off. He had thought Waikato might remember him as a friend, as a friend of the days of Te Wherowhero. He was wrong. Waikato remembered only the invasion of their lands and the punishment Grey had inflicted on them. He was not the right man to conduct the negotiations. Grey had deceived them too often; why should they treat with him now? "You ask that we should enter into your house", said Te Ngakau. "I agree with you. But why should I give up the ghost twice? Why should I suffer twice?"⁹⁸ It was a question which the kupapa could not answer. They could speak only of the benefits of peace. And to that Tawhiao had already given his answer. While the pakeha remained, there could be no peace. Ngapuhi might urge that they had fought and made an honourable peace; they had not lost their lands. Waikato, who had suffered once, did not wish to be wronged again. "All I want", said Te Ngakau, "is that the people should keep their own land."⁹⁹ The Northern chiefs who remarked that the King's lands were few and that his only hope lay in coming under the pakeha laws were small comfort. The Kingites knew the problem well enough; they would provide their own solution. They needed no assistance. Their decision in the meantime had been made.

Grey's self-control, in these trying circumstances, was admirable. For several days he had been subjected to the most insulting treatment. Now that the talk had begun, he was mentioned

98. AJHR, 1879, Session 1, G-2, p.11.

99. Ibid., p.10.

by Waikato almost wholly in hostile terms and he was not even able to speak. Once or twice he tried to turn the discussion to his proposals, but without success. The kupapa chiefs did what they could. Te Wheoro, Hone Mohi Tawhai,¹⁰⁰ Paora Tuhaere, all interceded for him.¹⁰¹ Rewi referred constantly to the previous meeting, to the good which had been begun and which should now be consummated. "Tell us why the words at Hikurangi have been destroyed and have not been allowed to mature?"¹⁰² But Waikato would not speak to him. Had he not been publicly disowned? Had he not joined Grey and abandoned Tawhiao? "The thief went away to Waitara",¹⁰³ sneered one Kingite. In vain Rewi tried to defend himself. "I leave (sic) my son (Tawhiao) simply and solely to seek some way of getting salvation for my own people, and, when I had arranged things, I was going to place him on a sound foundation... It is only recently that I have begun to seek a resting-place for my elder brother."¹⁰⁴ Such a gratuitous insult, however, merely confirmed Waikato's suspicions that Rewi was not to be trusted. Their king had no need of his help; he would manage affairs himself. They saw no reason to assist a renegade in carrying out his misbegotten plans. Rewi's pleas

100. A Ngapuhi chief, who later became the member for Northern Maori.

101. Had it not been for Ngapuhi, in fact, it is doubtful whether Grey would have heard any of the talking. For Ngapuhi, who were paying their first visit to Waikato in many years, had refused to see Tawhiao unless Grey came with them. After they had turned down the third invitation, Waikato gave in. Waikato Times, 8 May 1879.

102. AJHR, 1879, Session 1, G-2, p.9.

103. Ibid., p.12.

104. Ibid., p.13.

therefore made no impression.

In the end Grey lost his temper. Taking the bit between his teeth, he embarked on a lengthy speech in which he made an attempt to deal with all the Waikato grievances. At any time it would have been unsatisfactory; in the atmosphere of Te Kopua it was catastrophic. When the chiefs' greatest suspicion was that he intended to push the railway through their lands, he talked of the goodness of the Lord in granting them nice flat land for railways and iron with which they could be built. When they feared that he would open up their country and swamp them with Europeans, he spoke of the wickedness of those who caused innocent children to die by keeping out doctors and who, by working against the coming of the railway, kept in poverty families who might be living in comfort.¹⁰⁵ The Kingites were unmoved. Grey's speech, wrote an observer, was "... an absurd mixture of lying and bounce, and made everybody laugh. Te Ngakau called on him to stay, but he flung away in a rage."¹⁰⁶ As he left he fired his last shot. He would wait until ten o'clock the following morning. If by then Waikato had shown no willingness to come to terms with him, the Hikurangi proposals would be forever withdrawn.¹⁰⁷

It was a threat as ineffective as it was irrelevant. The Hikurangi proposals had already been utterly discredited. They

105. AJHR, 1879, Session 1, G-2, pp.14-15.

106. W.G. Mair, Diary, 12 May 1879.

107. AJHR, 1879, Session 1, G-2, p.15.

had interested the King only as long as it seemed that his authority over his lands would be recognized. Without such a guarantee, they were worthless. The King had nothing now to say to Grey. The next morning, therefore, he made no sign. When the appointed hour had passed Grey wrote, more perhaps in sorrow than in anger, reminding him of what he had lost; "When I leave Te Kopua today, I will take with me all the proposals which I made to you at Hikurangi." Shortly after eleven o'clock he boarded the waiting canoe and, almost unnoticed, left the Waikato.¹⁰⁸

His humiliation was not undeserved. He had gate-crashed a meeting at which he had no place, at which his business was utterly inconsequential. Tawhiao's immediate concern was the future, indeed the very existence of his following. Thwarted in his attempts to gain Government recognition, he had decided to take advantage of the prevalent anti-Government feeling among the tribes to appeal to them once more. Rewi's disaffection made it imperative that he broaden his support; how long after all would Ngatimaniapoto hold aloof from their chief? How long, too, if Rewi were to persist with his plans, could he maintain his kingship? His only alternative, it seemed, lay in the revival of a more widely-based hegemony.

It was, of course, a false hope. A King, the visiting chiefs had emphasized, could no longer serve a useful purpose; he would only

108. AJHR, 1879, Session 1, G-2, pp.15-16.

get them into trouble. His attempted assertion of authority was rejected forthwith. For Tawhiao, as for Grey, Te Kopua had been in its immediate objects a failure. Repudiated by the tribes, abandoned by the Premier, he had succeeded neither in defining his position in the Waikato nor in imposing his leadership on the North Island Maoris. The future, for the moment, must have seemed uncertain indeed.

Chapter IV

"Ko Ngaruawahia toku turanga-waewae"¹

To Rewi Maniapoto, more perhaps than to anyone else, the outcome of the King's meeting had been a gross disappointment.² For a time, it had seemed that he might have defeated Tawhiao's challenge to his authority, that he might indeed have succeeded in persuading Tawhiao that he could resume an active chiefly rôle only among his own people and in his own lands. Tawhiao's acceptance of Grey's proposals would have given Rewi the assurance which he so desperately sought, that the King was returning to the Waikato and that he himself would not be interfered with. But Tawhiao's tergiversation left him as insecure as before. His own efforts at a solution, it was obvious, must therefore be renewed.

Rewi was quick to resume negotiations. The ministerial presence in the Waikato indeed made it possible for him to start at once. Immediately after the Te Kopua meeting he wrote to delay

1. "Ngaruawahia is my footstool." The last line of a famous saying of Tawhiao made when he returned to Ngaruawahia in 1881; "Alexandra will ever be my symbol of strength of character; Cambridge a symbol of my wash bowl of sorrow; And Ngaruawahia my footstool." Cited in Pei Te Hurinui Jones, Turanga-Waewae Marae. Souvenir of Golden Jubilee 1921-71, p.6.
2. See his speeches at the Maori meeting held after Grey's departure, Waikato Times, 17 May 1879. Rewi had been very anxious that Government should attend the meeting; he had sent several pressing invitations. Manga Maniapoto to Grey, 14 April 1879, Grey Collection Maori Letters 1-320, No.3, G-198; and Rewi Maniapoto to Grey, 28 April 1879 and 2 May 1879. MA. 23/3 N.O. 79/2376 and N.79/2375.

Sheehan at Kihikihi, and returned with a large number of his followers to the Puniu to meet the Native Minister.³ The talks continued for several days. Rewi spoke only of his new boundary line. At Kihikihi he and his chiefs rehearsed in minute detail, before a rather bemused Sheehan, the limits of their land.⁴ On 20 May the whole party proceeded to Cambridge where numbers of Maoris were assembled for the opening of the Land Court and the recitation recommenced. This time, however, it was not unopposed. Parties of Ngatihaua and Ngatiraukawa made a vigorous defence of their respective territories through which, they asserted, Rewi had no right to take his line. But very little was achieved. There was a great deal of confusion as to why Rewi had promulgated a boundary at all.⁵ Sheehan had telegraphed to Wellington somewhat rashly that he remained with Rewi to conduct negotiations "...with the object of arranging for throwing open some additional country, and setting it aside for railway purposes..."⁶ Rewi on the other hand vacillated between declaring that he wanted no pakeha works within his lands, and announcing himself to be on the Government's side. His intentions in fact remained a mystery.⁷ It seems likely, however, that he had decided that the revelation of his plan should wait on a more distinguished audience. On 30 May 1879 he left

3. Waikato Times, 17 and 20 May 1879.

4. Ibid., 20 May 1879; N.Z. Herald, 19 May 1879.

5. Waikato Times, 22 and 24 May 1879. Also 27 May 1879.

6. New Zealand Herald, 19 May 1879.

7. Ibid., 26 May 1879; Waikato Times, 27 May 1879.

Kihikihi with Sheehan for Auckland where he was to meet the Premier and the Governor of New Zealand.⁸

His visit was a momentous occasion. For the fortnight before the arrival of the Governor Rewi was the sole centre of attraction in Auckland. His every movement, every remark was recorded, and he was heralded as "the most famous man in New Zealand".⁹ The people of Auckland, however suspect their motives might have been, entertained him magnificently. The mayor and councillors and "a large number of the leading citizens" turned out to meet him at the railway station, where he was greeted with loud cheers.¹⁰ In the next few days, he visited most of the principal industries and institutions of the town. His interest in machinery was soon revealed to be insatiable. In one day alone he visited a saddlery, "The Auckland Star" office, the Graving Dock, a brewery, the Bank of New Zealand- twice- the Hospital, where he spoke with every Maori patient, and the gaol, where he delivered a stern address to the thirteen Maori prisoners: "You are here for your own faults. It is right that those who break the laws should pay the penalty..."¹¹ And in the evening he was marched off to hear Mr C.A. Robertson's lecture on the "Chemistry of Food", where he was reported to be very pleased with the experiments. He attended a meeting of the Auckland Institute, witnessed with the mayor a special display of

8. New Zealand Herald, 31 May 1879.

9. Ibid., 28 May 1879.

10. Waikato Times, 31 May 1879.

11. New Zealand Herald, 2 June 1879.

the force of the town's water-works and toured the visiting German man-of-war Albatross.¹² Te Wheoro gave a dinner in his honour in the Royal Mail Hotel; Paora invited him to a feast at Orakei.¹³ But the highlight of his visit was, without a doubt, his meeting with the Governor. When on 16 June 1879 Sir Hercules Robinson at last arrived at Onehunga in the Government steamer, Sheehan took Rewi aboard to introduce him. The old chief was noticeably moved by the occasion. But his great concern was that it should be public. "I want the pakehas to see that I have the Governor by the hand..." he said and, to the cheers of the large crowd gathered on the shore, the two of them stood arm in arm at the side of the ship.¹⁴ Rewi had made his peace with the Crown.

It was for him no mere formal occasion. He had come to negotiate with the Governor, to make his arrangements for the future of his lands and people. He spent the last two days of his Auckland stay closeted with Sir Hercules and the Native Minister, working on the draft of his proposals.¹⁵ When the text was completed he returned, in the august company of the Governor, to Waikato. The purpose of his journey had been achieved. "You and Grey and Sheehan and myself and the good things we have begun will be carried out", he told the Governor as they parted at Te Awamutu, "for love has pierced my heart and my love has pierced your heart, they have

12. New Zealand Herald, 2 June 1879; also 3 and 5 June 1879.

13. Ibid., 4 and 10 June 1879.

14. Waikato Times, 17 June 1879.

15. Ibid., 19 and 21 June 1879; New Zealand Herald 20 June 1879; see also Rewi's speech, New Zealand Herald, 4 June 1879.

joined and may never separate."¹⁶

But the heart of the Government had remained impenetrable. To Grey and to Sheehan Rewi's Auckland visit had proved a bitter disappointment.¹⁷ The old chief's friendliness, his readiness to meet the Native Minister, his seeming estrangement from the King, all had seemed indications that he was at last preparing to open his lands to the European. Sheehan, it is clear, had hoped that Rewi might make his announcement in Auckland. "Up to this present time", he said at Te Wheoro's dinner, "the task of endeavouring to make a settlement had been left in the hands of the Waikatos. They had failed, and Rewi was now here... to see if he could manage it in his way."¹⁸ Rewi himself, however, had always been more modest. "The reason why I have come", he explained, "is to see if a means can be obtained to guide things rightly."¹⁹ But the negotiations could not be hurried. "I am a man just emerged from the forest", he reminded his audience at Orakei. "Do not call upon me to do too much."²⁰ Perhaps it was a reference to the opposition of the tribes, which made it difficult in the meantime for him to advance. The King had sent a special messenger to Kihikihi in an effort to

16. Waikato Times, 24 June 1879.

17. It had after all been their last chance to reach a settlement before the July session of Parliament. For a study of the forces working against them at this time see R.C.J. Stone, "The Maori Lands Question and the fall of the Grey Government, 1879", N.Z. Journal of History, Vol.1, No.1, April 1967, pp.51-74.

18. New Zealand Herald, 4 June 1879.

19. Waikato Times, 12 June 1879.

20. New Zealand Herald, 10 June 1879.

prevent Rewi's departure for Auckland.²¹ And Rewi's own people had urged him not to go.²² Such protestations, it is true, could not entirely be ignored. But Rewi's cautions were based, it seems, on a rather more important consideration. He himself had not yet reached the point to which the pakehas were trying to push him; he himself was not yet ready to hand over the lands. Such indeed, as he had stressed before, had never been his intention. His sole aim had been to befriend the European, to end the enmity which had for so long blighted the progress of his race. "The only question now was, whether the people should live apart or become one with the Europeans."²³ Tawhiao had chosen one answer; Rewi was prepared to try the other. But he was moving too slowly for the Government. His much-vaunted proposals were doubtless only a refinement of the earlier plan of a resumption of his chiefly power over the Ngati-maniapoto lands.²⁴ Sheehan refused to have them published. And Grey, subsequently, ignored them entirely.

Rewi was deeply **offended**.²⁵ He had always been a fervent supporter of the Grey Government and an admirer of its initiative in treating with the Maori. Early in July, when the Government seemed shaky, he threatened, in the event of its defeat, to withdraw inland and to cease any attempt at negotiation. The only

21. New Zealand Herald, 31 May 1879.

22. W.G. Mair to Gilbert Mair, 6 June 1879, Mair Family Papers 5.

23. Waikato Times, 5 June 1879. See also New Zealand Herald, 4 June 1879.

24. There is no extant text. See, however, W.G. Mair to Gilbert Mair, 24 June 1879, Mair Family Papers 5.

25. Waikato Times, 17 February 1880.

person with whom he could work, he said, was Sheehan; it would be of no use his meeting anyone else.²⁶ He was especially angered by Sir William Fox's attempts to fell the Government before it could bring to completion the task which had been undertaken: "We, together with the Government, planted a tree to bear forth good. The new Governor saw the tree, and approved of it; he also ordered it to grow. Now, Fox and other members are uprooting that tree that is to produce good."²⁷ Such sabotage Rewi found worthy only of contempt. And when Fox had in fact succeeded in forcing a dissolution, Rewi made a stand for the Greyites during the subsequent election campaign which they hardly deserved. At Kihikihi he harangued the settlers on the history of his negotiations with Grey and Sheehan.²⁸ He nominated Te Wheoro as a candidate for the Western Maori seat and was successful in securing his election.²⁹ Up till the last minute he was still hoping for a Greyite victory. "I wished that you should stick to the Government until the work which is being carried on is completed..." he wrote to Te Wheoro in Wellington. "At present our talk- mine, Sir George Grey's, and the Governor's- has not yet met (or, come to an issue)."³⁰

26. Waikato Times, 5 July 1879.

27. Rewi to E. Hamlin, M.H.R., 25 July 1879, read in the House 25 July 1879, N.Z.P.D., Vol.31, p.294.

28. Waikato Times, 28 August 1879.

29. Ibid., 2 September 1879. The King forbade his people to vote.

30. See Rewi Maniapoto to Sir G. Grey, 3 October 1879. Grey Collection, Maori Letters 1-320, No.3, G.196. Although Rewi had promoted Te Wheoro's candidacy so that he might support Grey, Te Wheoro soon showed himself to have other ideas. In October he was reported to have voted for the Government only after being locked in; his intention had been not to vote at all.

The defeat of the Government³¹ disgusted him. The following month he withdrew, as he had warned, to Te Kuiti.³² It may of course have been his illness which prompted him to leave the European and return to his tribal headquarters. For the last two months he had been very unwell; Mair found him indeed "quite paralised (sic)" and doubted whether he would live much longer.³³ Rewi made it clear, however, that there were other reasons for his departure. "In reply to your question as to why I have come here", he wrote from Te Kuiti to the anxious Lewis, "it concerns Mokau. I will never agree to a road being built there."³⁴ It was only three months since he himself had authorized the survey of the Mokau block; he and Sheehan had arranged it together.³⁵ But Rewi saw no reason to co-operate with a new Government,³⁶ with the Government which had put Sheehan out of office. "I will never consent to see the present Government, nor will I again return to dwell amongst Europeans. I leave it with those important persons who have abused Grey to see how they can manage affairs in my absence."³⁷ Mokau could serve as an example

31. On 3 October 1879.

32. Waikato Times, 25 November 1879 and 9 December 1879.

33. W.G. Mair to Gilbert Mair, 6 November (sic?) 1879, Mair Family Papers 5. See also Waikato Times, 11 December 1879.

34. Manga to Te Ruihi (?T.W. Lewis, Under Secretary, Native Department) 7 December 1879. Letter in the Collection of Mr Bob Mahuta.

35. MA. 23/7, No.8, J. Jones to J. Thomson (Surveyor-General) 29 August 1879 and No.9, J. Sheehan to T.W. Lewis, 1 September 1879.

36. The Hall Ministry took office on 8 October 1879.

37. Waikato Times, 9 December 1879.

to them. Yet if Rewi was furious with those who had wrecked his negotiations, his chief ire was reserved for Grey. He had promised Rewi that he would answer his proposals; he had never done so. He had agreed to come to terms, but he had thrown away his opportunity.³⁸ Now it was too late. In December 1879 Rewi intimated that he had given up the project of the boundary line.³⁹ His negotiating days were for the present at an end.

Both for the Government and for Tawhiao the loss of their self-appointed mediator was to have momentous consequences. Rewi's impatience with the pakeha, it is true, was short-lived. He soon returned to Puniu, and he took a great interest in the house which was being built for him.⁴⁰ But his coolness lasted long enough for Tawhiao to be able to resume the initiative. At the same time, moreover, Rewi's dalliance with the Government had proved fatal to his standing in the King party, the more so since his loss of influence coincided with the rise to prominence of the Mokau chief Wahanui, who had his own reasons for supporting the monarchy. Nor was Rewi ever to succeed, despite his now frequent visits to Hukurangi,⁴¹ in shaking Wahanui's position. With Rewi out of the way,

38. Waikato Times, 17 February 1880.

39. Ibid., 6 January 1880.

40. The house had been promised him by the Grey Government, and the new Ministry decided to proceed with its erection at Kihikihi. Tenders for the building of the house closed on 31 January 1880, and work was started soon after. It was a large and handsome mansion, beautifully finished throughout.

41. His first meeting with Tawhiao since he returned from Auckland was reported in the Waikato Times of 17 February 1880; it took place some time during the previous week.

with the encouragement of a new adviser,⁴² Tawhiao at last felt able to continue with his plans.

The King had in fact soon recovered from his apparent defeat at Te Kopua. In one respect at least the meeting had proved positively beneficial. If the tribes had rejected his authority, after all, they had also released him from the obligation of safeguarding their interests. The King need no longer make any pretence of speaking for the Maoris of New Zealand; his only concern, henceforth, was to be for his own people. He accepted the new situation with evident relief. As soon as the meeting was over, it was reported, a party of chiefs was sent out to visit all the tribes who had handed over land to Potatau. Their lands were to be returned to them "... on the ground that the King had endeavoured to fulfil the trust reposed in him by doing his utmost to prevent the alienation of those lands..."⁴³ The Maoris themselves, however, had prevented him from achieving his purpose. Even while the land was under his protection they had sold and leased, had betrayed the principle which they were once so eager to establish. And Tawhiao was anxious now to be rid of a responsibility which had brought him only trouble.⁴⁴

42. Wahanui replaced Te Ngakau in this capacity, it seems, after the Te Kopua meeting when Te Ngakau's handling of the meeting was heavily criticised. See Waikato Times, 13 May 1879, also W.H. Grace to the Editor of The Observer, 4 February 1882, W.H. Grace, Letter book, p.13, and Waikato Times, 8 April 1880.

43. R.S. Bush to Native Minister, 2 June 1879, AJHR, 1879, Session 1, G-1, p.16.

44. Ibid.

From this time indeed he became increasingly preoccupied with keeping the peace. He himself had always been a pacifist, a firm believer, Mair wrote, in the Maori adage that "the fame of the warrior is less lasting than that of the man who is industrious in the production of food."⁴⁵ But the vigour with which he now devoted himself to the problem was something new. It was in part no doubt a reflection of the increasing isolation of his position which had been so evident at Te Kopua. In the face of an almost complete lack of sympathy with his methods, Tawhiao had yet to maintain the integrity of his party. Above all, if he were to justify his stand, he must not compromise himself in his dealings with the pakeha. Yet it was precisely in this respect that his difficulties promised to be greatest. The opening of Raglan by way of the new Waikato road, the vast expansion of business in the Cambridge Land Court,⁴⁶ the growing numbers of Maoris visiting the Waikato townships, were all evidence of a gradual breakdown of the spirit, if not of the reality of the aukati. Tawhiao's appreciation of these changes was no less acute than had been Rewi's; it was only his response to them which was different. He refused to accept Rewi's solution- to welcome the intrusion, however inevitable, with open arms. But he would not fight against it. His duty as King

45. W.G. Mair to Under Secretary, Native Department, 29 May 1880, AJHR, 1880, G-4A, p.1.

46. The Waikato Times of 22 July 1880 reported that no Land Court had put so much land through so quickly as that which adjourned on 5 July, having dealt with 290,000 acres.

was not to marshal resistance, but to protect his people from the dangers of the pakeha advance.

It was no easy task. At a time when his scattered adherents were exposed to the insidious influence of Te Whiti,⁴⁷ Tawhiao faced the problem of restraining the wilder spirits among them from spontaneous acts of violence. Soon after the meeting, he had in fact issued a pronouncement condemning the tactics of the obstructionists. His people, he said, were to cease "making evil threats and talking in a bounceable manner, and... not to take upon themselves to commit crimes."⁴⁸ In the future, parties sent to ask road-makers to desist were to create no disturbance, and if their requests proved unsuccessful, were to withdraw at once. But there was, he stressed, to be no more fighting. It is evident, however, that the King, lacking as he did any practical power of enforcement, placed little reliance on such prohibitions. As the situation in Taranaki worsened, he became increasingly concerned lest his followers demonstrate in support of the prophet. His great fear was that some, dissatisfied perhaps with his own inactivity, might go and join Te Whiti, might in fact risk a repetition of the retribution of the 'sixties.⁴⁹ Even before the Te Kopua meeting, when trouble

47. In protest against the survey of the Waimate Plains, Te Whiti had adopted a policy of ploughing the land of settlers in various parts of the confiscation. In June 1880 he sent men to fence across the new Government road. The Government retaliated to all this by arresting the obstructionists and detaining them without trial.

48. R.S. Bush to Native Minister, 2 June 1879, AJHR, 1879, Session 1, G-1, p.15.

49. Waikato Times, 22 January 1880; see also 8 April 1880.

had first broken out on the Waingongoro plains, the Waikato chiefs had been anxious to dissociate themselves from Te Whiti and, more especially, from the Tekau ma rua (the Twelve),⁵⁰ a group of the prophet's disciples recruited from their own people.⁵¹ Te Whiti, the King emphasized, was on his own.⁵²

Obstruction of the pakeha and encouragement alike, then, stood condemned. There was, however, an alternative. Only in isolation, Tawhiao decided, might his people be protected. He would remove them therefore from the boundaries, from all the areas where confrontation might arise, and gather them together in a few settlements to live under his own supervision.⁵³ Once withdrawn, moreover, they must remain entirely inaccessible to Europeans. No pakeha, the King announced, was to cross the boundary, either for trading or shooting or for negotiation. In July 1879 the Kingites even appointed a committee comprising Te Tuhi, Honana Maioha, and Tupotahi, to see that the new ruling was rigidly enforced.⁵⁴ The aukati then was to be more strictly preserved than ever. And behind it, the King would at last exercise a more direct authority

50. They were reported to be "a political body... consisting almost exclusively of men of no rank." W.G. Mair to Native Minister, 12 June 1873, AJHR, 1873, G-1, p.22. They sometimes visited Te Whiti.

51. Paora Tuhaere to John Sheehan, 10 April 1879, MA 23/3 N.O. 79/1538.

52. Waikato Times, 28 June 1879 and 17 February 1880.

53. Ibid., 8 April 1880 and 26 August 1880. See also ibid., 16 October 1880.

54. Ibid., 1 July 1879. See also ibid., 28 October 1879. The only exception, it was decided, would be that of a mechanic to mend the agricultural machinery.

over his newly concentrated followers.

As early as June 1879 Tawhiao had begun preparations to move a section of his people out to Kawhia which was to be one of the new settlements.⁵⁵ The main body,⁵⁶ however, were to be gathered at Hikurangi. "Come here all the tribes, and cover the hills", he exhorted them; "then all the troubles will cease in the island."⁵⁷ Throughout the summer of 1879 he kept his people busy felling bush and planting crops in readiness for the expected additions to the population.⁵⁸ Nor were the Kingites unresponsive. In February 1880 Wahanui and his people were selling all their cattle and horses in Te Kuiti and preparing to leave for Hikurangi.⁵⁹ The following month a large number of Tuwharetoa arrived from Taupo. In April Wahanui was away in the upper Wanganui trying to persuade his followers there to join the scheme.⁶⁰ Taonui, Te Rerenga, Matuahū and other leading chiefs, Mair reported, had also consented to move their

55. Waikato Times, 3 June 1879.

56. It is almost impossible to estimate the size of the settlements, since the Native Agents, when taking a census, gave figures only for a whole district. In 1881, for instance, Mair estimated that there were 2,450 Waikato (of both sexes) in the Upper Waikato district, including Hikurangi, Kopua, Kawhia and Aotea. His figure of 1,200 Ngatimaniapoto included those living both at Hikurangi and Kopua, and near Te Kuiti and in the Upper Mokau. AJHR, 1881, G-3, p.15.

57. Waikato Times, 28 August 1879.

58. Ibid., 24 February 1880. Tawhiao's people were, as this passage suggests, industrious agriculturalists. The Native Agents frequently contrasted their application with the sloth of the kupapa.

59. Ibid., 21 February 1880.

60. Ibid., 8 April 1880.

people.⁶¹ "... Tawhiao's ambition of making his favourite settlement the largest in the island", wrote an observer, "is in a fair way of being realized."⁶² But the King's vision was not so restricted. Far from marking the achievement of his plans, the new settlement was but the beginning.

Tawhiao was slow to reveal his intentions. He was anxious, until his plan had matured, to avoid a public statement of policy. The annual great meeting was replaced in 1880 by consultations among his chiefs,⁶³ and it was not until the following year that the fruits of their discussions were aired before the tribes. The delay was not surprising. The elaboration of a new form of government, after all, was no light matter. Since he derived his authority in the last analysis from the tribes, he could not change its nature without the consent of the chiefs. It was even deemed necessary, in the end, to draw up an agreement for all the chiefs to sign.⁶⁴ Tawhiao was to be acknowledged as King, and was to be guided henceforth by a runanga of elders and a runanga of young men. He would also be supported by Wahanui and by 'ministers of religion'. The tribes represented at the meeting again handed over all their lands to

61. W.G. Mair to Under Secretary, Native Department, 29 May 1880, AJHR, 1880, G-4A, No.1.

62. Waikato Times, 24 February 1880.

63. W.G. Mair to Under Secretary, Native Department, 29 May 1880, AJHR, 1880, G-4A, No.1.

64. See speeches of Pikia and Wahanui, Proceedings at the Meeting at Hikurangi, W.G. Mair to Under Secretary, Native Department, 28 May 1881, AJHR, 1881, G-8, p.6.

Tawhiao's absolute control; ⁶⁵ he alone from now on would collect any rents. He was also to receive the pensions of assessors, and to take subscriptions for the setting up of flour mills. If possible, the King party would re-establish their own press; if not, they would attempt to enlist sympathetic reporters on the Auckland papers. In all these matters, finally, Tawhiao was to wield full discretionary powers. "He alone- he alone will have sole control", proclaimed Wahanui. ⁶⁶

The King was, of course, still far from being an autocrat; he would be unlikely to act without the advice and consent of his chiefs. But the new contract certainly represented an attempt to make Tawhiao's title rather more meaningful. Under Wahanui's guidance the Ngatimaniapoto chiefs worked with Tawhiao to bring about a rejuvenation of the kingship because he remained at this time of crisis their only hope of unity, of retaining their still extensive lands. Rewi's unsuccessful attempt at negotiations with the Government had perhaps convinced them that one chief on his own could do nothing. It was the King in whom the Government were interested. It seemed to Wahanui only logical then to make the King as strong as possible, to impress upon the Government that he, and they, were not to be trifled with. His job in the meantime

65. Since the consenting tribes included Ngatihaua and Ngati-raukawa, who had few lands left, the press was sceptical of this provision. It seems, indeed, to have been mostly a reaffirmation of Waikato-Ngatimaniapoto unity under the King.

66. Proceedings at the Meeting at Hikurangi, W.G. Mair to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 28 May 1881, AJHR, 1881, G-8, p.6. For a full description of the terms of the Compact see Waikato Times, 21 May 1881.

was to protect their lands; he must therefore be enabled to do it as well as possible.

Tawhiao was quick to seize the opportunity which this renewed Ngatimaniapoto adherence offered him. He was well aware, no doubt, of its purpose; well aware, too, that it would last only while he was useful. He could not therefore rely on its continuance. But in the meantime he could use their support to his own advantage. While Ngatimaniapoto bolstered his kingly power, he himself could attend to his purely chiefly authority, to the strengthening of his personal prestige and its function in government. The runanga system evidently was an attempt at providing a more practical governing machine; Tawhiao's acquisition of the rents was to give it economic viability. But it was not enough. Tawhiao's chief preoccupation was to incorporate his own authority into the tribal system, and preferably, to make it the most important element.⁶⁷

Meanwhile, as many a tribal king before him, he turned to the priestly power. In 1880 it was reported that discussions at his council meetings centred on the tariao form of worship and that he was even contemplating establishing a theocracy.⁶⁸ The importance given to 'ministers of religion' in the 1881 compact would seem to confirm that they were being deliberately used to exalt the

67. Cf. report of some Thames Maoris that "Tawhiao has re-asserted the old chieftainship and his own right to do things..." Waikato Times, 11 October 1881.

68. W.G. Mair to Under Secretary, Native Department, 29 May 1880, AJHR, 1880, G-4A, No.1

status of the chieftainship. It was not a new principle.⁶⁹ But the King's proposal to take advantage of it himself for the direct rule of his people was a bold innovation. Ngatimaniapoto could countenance it only because the monarchy, as well as the chieftainship, would benefit. In this way, therefore, Tawhiao and Wahanui were able to co-operate to give the uneasy Waikato-Ngatimaniapoto alliance a new lease of life. And the King, for his part, embarked on an even more enterprising phase of his scheme.

On 2 June 1881 William Mair, travelling south from Auckland to meet Rewi, received telegrams at Mercer announcing that Tawhiao was near Alexandra and wished to see him.⁷⁰ At Alexandra he met the King's son, Tu Tawhiao, who said that his father wished to shoot pigeons at Harapepe within the confiscated area and that, on his return, he would meet Mair in the township.⁷¹ Tawhiao wrote the same evening asking for permission to buy ammunition for the sport and the next morning, accompanied by a small band of youths, he crossed the boundary.⁷² On 7 June, after a few days' diligent shooting, the King and seventy of his followers entered Alexandra.⁷³

69. Cf. Pei Te Hurinui Jones's contention that "the setting up of the Kingship was an incident with a very deep spiritual significance", and that Te Wherowhero accepted it "because it appealed to his priestly ego." Pei Te Hurinui Jones, King Potatau, p.37.

70. W.G. Mair to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 14 June 1881, MA 23/4b, N.O. 81/2053.

71. Ibid.

72. W.G. Mair to W. Rolleston, 3 June 1881, MA 23/4b, N.O. 81/1865.

73. W.G. Mair to Under Secretary, Native Department, 8 June 1881, MA 23/4b, N.O. 81/1869.

He had come to offer the pakeha his friendship. His tactics during the next three days were impeccable. He spoke to Rewi, twelve miles away, on the telephone and was duly astonished at the marvel; in his hotel he tried his hand at billiards, and he was delighted at the piano-playing of the proprietor's daughter.⁷⁴ The people of Alexandra, in their admiration for the King, soon forgot their earlier alarm. They found him utterly charming. His followers, who continued to stream into the town, entertained them meanwhile with haka.⁷⁵ When he departed on 9 June Tawhiao had earned, so it seemed, the settlers' eternal goodwill.

The Alexandra stay, however, had been but a rehearsal.⁷⁶ The King's great wish was to visit not one, but all the Waikato settlements.⁷⁷ As early as 30 June 1881 he was sending messages to Mair at Ohinemutu to return,⁷⁸ and he was greatly agitated by his unavoidable delay.⁷⁹ But he refused to proceed without him. Mair was essential to the whole proceedings. On 11 July, Tawhiao, Wahanui, and Manuhiri, followed by about 600 of their people, proceeded to

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74. W.G. Mair to Under Secretary, Native Department, 8 June 1881, MA 23/4b, N.O. 81/1869. See also Waikato Times, 9 June 1881.
75. There were reported to be "some hundreds" of Maoris in Alexandra. Waikato Times, 11 June 1881.
76. W.G. Mair to Under Secretary, Native Department, 9 June 1881, MA 23/4b, N.O. 81/1870; see also *ibid.*, 23 June 1881, MA 23/4b, N.O. 81/2083.
77. W.G. Mair to Under Secretary, Native Department, 23 June 1881, MA 23/4b, N.O. 81/2083; Waikato Times, 2 and 5 July 1881.
78. Mair, who had been reinstated by the Hall Government and was now Native Agent for the entire Auckland district, had gone to Rotorua on Land Court business. W.G. Mair, *Diary*, 30 June 1881.
79. *Ibid.*, 4 July 1881. See also Henare Kaihau to W. Rolleston, 4 July 1881, M.A. 23/4b, N.O. 81/2180; Waikato Times, 5 July 1881.

Alexandra and, to the strains of "For he's a jolly good fellow" rendered by the local brass band, made a ceremonial entrance into the town.⁸⁰ Outside the hotel Tawhiao and Mair exchanged greetings. Then the King, stepping forward, laid his gun in the road. Eighty of his people followed him. "Do you know what this means?" asked Wahanui, "...it means peace."⁸¹ It meant nothing more. It was not a surrender. There was no subsequent declaration, as the Native Minister bewailed, of recognition of the Queen's supremacy.⁸² Nor is it possible to view this performance as a preliminary to a King-ite settlement with the Government. Tawhiao made no attempt to open negotiations. He spoke tantalisingly of "something yet to be done"⁸³ but declined, much to Rolleston's chagrin, to reveal the nature of his plan. He had never intended it, after all, to be a business trip. His mission was one of peace.⁸⁴ The offering of guns was the clearest indication he could provide of his desire to live in harmony with the pakeha. For he was anxious, too, that there should be no doubt as to his meaning. This was the beginning of a new era in his relations with the pakeha. There must be no misunderstandings. "Be open (in your dealings with me)" he said at Hamilton. "Do not dissemble, but be frank, as I standing here,

80. Waikato Times, 12 July 1881.

81. Ibid.

82. W. Rolleston to W.G. Mair, 1 August 1881, MA 23/4b, N.O. 81/2550 (2). See also W.G. Mair to W. Rolleston, 4 August 1881, MA 23/4b, filed after N.O. 81/2622.

83. W.G. Mair to W. Rolleston, 22 July 1881, MA 23/4b, N.O. 81/2465.

84. Cf. Tawhiao's speech at Cambridge banquet, Waikato Times, 26 July 1881.

am now with you."⁸⁵ Hence his refusal to accept Mair's later offer to return the guns: "... when we gave these guns it was as a proof of our sincerity."⁸⁶ His subjects removed from the danger areas, his unruly followers cowed, Tawhiao, in the flush of his new authority, could proffer at last his guarantee of peace. It was the culmination of the policy of isolation.

The joy of the settlers at Tawhiao's unexpected gesture knew no bounds. As he proceeded through the Waikato townships they positively vied with one another in their efforts to entertain him. The people of Te Awamutu gave him a banquet.⁸⁷ At Cambridge, despite their disappointment at the King's long delay in Kihikihi with an attack of bronchitis,⁸⁸ the settlers' welcome was overwhelming. They put out the bunting, erected a specially inscribed arch over the main street and presented the King with an address. In the evening there was a dinner—where even the ham was emblazoned with greetings— and fireworks, and the following day there were organized sports.⁸⁹ The settlers of Hamilton formed a procession to meet the King while their children, accompanied by the band,

85. Translation of Tawhiao's Reply to an Address of Welcome of Mayor and Councillors, 26 July 1881, *AJHR*, 1881, G-9, No.8, Encl.1.

86. W.G. Mair to W. Rolleston, 13 August 1881, MA 23/4b, N.O. 80 (sic)/2758.

87. Waikato Times, 14 and 16 July 1881.

88. The settlers had amassed vast piles of food for Tawhiao's entourage, most of which went bad during the week's delay and was cheerfully replaced.

89. Waikato Times, 23 and 26 July 1881.

sang 'My own New Zealand Home'.⁹⁰ And at Ngaruawahia whither the party proceeded, to Tawhiao's great delight, by special train, they enjoyed both a pakeha and a Maori reception.⁹¹

Tawhiao's home-coming, indeed, was a solemn occasion.⁹² He had returned at last to the former capital of his kingdom. Unable even to reply to the address of the settlers, he proceeded to the river, to the tomb of his father. The tangi was a long one. When it had finished Tawhiao rose and spoke to the assembled Europeans: "Though my body is small, yet 'I can cause the arch of the sky to fall' (i.e. can accomplish great things)." The war had originated with him; the making of peace, as he continually stressed throughout his journey, had also been on his initiative. "What have you done? Nothing! Nothing! It was I (who determined to make this visit),"⁹³ Of his own accord the King had left his isolation; of his own accord he would now shift his people to Whatiwhatihoe, to live only over the river from

90. A distinct improvement, the Waikato Times reporter thought, on the effort of the Te Awamutu band, which regaled Tawhiao with "The King of the Cannibal Islands". Waikato Times, 28 July 1881.

91. The King himself travelled by buggy, but he boarded the train near Ngaruawahia and was fascinated with it. *Ibid.*, 30 July 1881.

92. Ngaruawahia was, as Mair reported, "the real object of this visit." W.G. Mair to W. Rolleston, 25 July 1881. MA 23/4b, N.O. 81/2503.

93. Translation of a speech made by Tawhiao on his arrival at Ngaruawahia on 28 July 1881, AJHR, 1881, G-9, No.8, Encl.2.

the pakeha.⁹⁴ Neither the Government nor Rewi had played any part in the events of the last two weeks. But this was as Tawhiao had wanted it. It was his day and he would **arrange** matters. The Government in fact could do nothing; everything depended on the King.

"There is no other person, not one, who can arrange (terms with you) but myself."⁹⁵ And he urged the Native Minister not to worry unduly;⁹⁶ he himself would settle all future troubles. He would "save, protect, and befriend" and he would pursue his course to the end. But he must not be interrupted: "... let yours be the same as mine, do not differ", he warned Rolleston: "if yours differs from mine I will never agree, never."⁹⁷

His was a course, however, which the Government could never countenance. For the tour of 1881 was far more than the amicable gesture which the settlers took it to be. "The wheel has gone full circle; Tawhiao was made King; then he was exiled; now he has come back again", said Manga.⁹⁸ Tawhiao returned to the Waikato, in

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94. Mair was first informed of the intended move a month later. W.G. Mair to W. Rolleston, 25 August 1881, MA 23/4b, N.O. 81/2947. See also Waikato Times, 4 October 1881.
95. Translation of a speech made by Tawhiao... at Ngaruawahia on 28 July 1881, AJHR, 1881, G-9, No.8, Encl.2.
96. It was a rather nice touch; Rolleston had in fact been extremely anxious all along lest the Government do either too much or not enough for the King; he was afraid even to send a telegram lest he addressed it to the wrong chief, and left everything in Mair's hands.
97. King Tawhiao to the Native Minister, 27 August 1881, AJHR, 1881, G-9, No.6.
98. Speech made by Rewi Maniapoto 25 August (July?) 1881 at Hamilton. Report of Speech in Collection of Bob Mahuta.

short, as its chief and as its King. He came to assert his mana over the towns and over the pakeha inhabitants.⁹⁹ Grey had offered him the Waikato; there was no reason, therefore, why he should not take it. He need not accept it as a pakeha present, nor on pakeha terms. This was his country which he, from now on, would rule. To be sure, it would not be a wholly palatable task. "I do not entirely approve of the Europeans occupying the towns", he explained to Bryce later. But as long as it was realized that they dwelt within his territory he would allow them to remain. "All the European townships down to Mangatawhiri are with me... The control of these townships is with me."¹⁰⁰ It was his old boundary. His refusal to visit Auckland at this time, no doubt, is explained by the fact that Auckland lay beyond it.¹⁰¹ He had come on a tour of his domains;¹⁰² Auckland lay in Government territory. He proceeded therefore no further than Mercer. On 4 August 1881 he retraced his steps to Alexandra. Yet it was no return to seclusion. Tawhiao would come

99. When the 1881 census was taken there was a total of 5960 settlers in the Waikato and Waipa districts to which must be added another 1361 in the borough of Hamilton. AJHR, 1881, H-21A, p.2.

100. New Zealand Herald, 31 October 1882.

101. The Government had hoped that his tour would culminate in an Auckland visit, and in Auckland the Mayor had chaired on 3 August a large meeting of citizens which decided to invite the King and his people. Tawhiao, though much pleased, "did not see his way clear to go yet..." W.G. Mair to Rolleston, 4 August 1881, MA 23/4b, N.O. 81/2610.

102. This would explain, too, Tawhiao's reported unwillingness to allow large numbers of Ngatimaniapoto to accompany him; they had no place, after all, on a Waikato tour. Waikato Times, 12 July 1881.

again: "... very soon I will greet and see you there", he wrote to the mayor of Hamilton. "That is under the mana of our Kingship." ¹⁰³ The King had resumed possession of his lands.

103. King Tawhiao to Hone Naki (John Knox, the mayor of Hamilton), 9 August 1881. Copy in W.G. Mair, Diary, 1881, p.2. Translated by Mr D.R. Simmons.

Chapter V

The Phantom King

The promulgation of the new arrangement, Tawhiao decided, was to be a ceremonial event. He would make his announcement the following March at a great meeting at which Maoris and Europeans would be assembled together.¹ The delay was a necessary one. Tawhiao was uncertain, for instance, whether his race made him universally acceptable. "I have a dark skin, and probably you might think that my thoughts are dark also", he said- a reference perhaps to the mistrust and even the fear with which he had so recently been regarded. "This is the only doubt I have, that you may despise me on account of my appearance."² Perhaps, however, the colour of his skin was a disadvantage which could be overcome, an inequality which constant intercourse with the pakeha might remove. At Alexandra he had opened the way to the settlers' friendship; he was anxious now to win their complete confidence.

During the next few months Tawhiao's efforts met with a great deal of success. The removal of his settlement to Whatiwhatihoë, only a mile over the river from Alexandra, was taken by the settlers as a great compliment.³ By October 1881 he had obtained the use of

1. W.G. Mair to Under Secretary, Native Department, 5 October 1881, MA 23/4b, N.C. 81/3500; Waikato Times, 17 September 1881, and 8 October 1881.
2. New Zealand Herald, 24 January 1882. It was a doubt which the King constantly expressed.
3. Tawhiao held a final meeting at Hikurangi on 26 September 1881, and the settlement was thereafter largely abandoned. The new site was a large plain.

several blocks of Government and settler owned land, all of which were immediately put to the plough.⁴ He became a frequent visitor to the town, and invited parties of Europeans to visit his home.⁵ He even agreed, at Rewi's suggestion, to a new bridge over the Waipa directly connecting the two settlements on either side.⁶ "Don't let us have the roundabout one", he said when asked which of the two proposed routes he preferred, "but let us come straight to each other."⁷ The bridge, however, was more than a mere symbol of the necessity to end the misunderstanding which had so marred their relations in the past. It served as a tangible reminder that the King was to be far more closely involved with them than heretofore. On the other side of the river there was a new authority, a new source of redress.

It was, then, with careful foresight that Tawhiao, already an experienced arbiter, undertook the settlement of several border land disputes. On the eve of his first visit to Alexandra, the previous June, he had suddenly ordered trespassing settler cattle to be driven back over the Puniu.⁸ Most of the beasts belonged to a man named Ross whom Rewi had granted an informal lease of land within the King's boundary. The new Hikurangi law could

4. Waikato Times, 6 and 8 October 1881.

5. Ibid., 4 October 1881.

6. Tawhiao himself later affirmed that Rewi had persuaded him to agree to the bridge, and that it had not been, as everyone thought, his own idea. New Zealand Herald, 31 October 1882. See also Waikato Times, 15 October 1881.

7. See speech of the Hon. F. Whitaker at the Banquet to Tawhiao, New Zealand Herald, 20 January 1882.

8. Waikato Times, 2 June 1881.

permit of no such arrangement. The land was the King's; the pakeha's cattle must therefore be removed.⁹ It was of course an awkward moment. The settlers, fearing a resurgence of Hauhau aggression, were at first thoroughly alarmed.¹⁰ Reassured, however, by the revelation that the King Maoris had acted within their rights,¹¹ they were further mollified by Rewi's calm acceptance of this seeming intrusion on his prerogative. At a dinner which he gave to celebrate the opening of his new house in Kihikihi Rewi told the leading townsmen that he "approved of the cattle being driven in from the native land because the land having been given to Tawhiao it was best to restore it free from encumbrance of any kind..."¹² But the lesson was intended not so much for Rewi as for the settlers. They must in future treat with the King.

If they did not understand the full impact of the change, the pakeha landowners were quick at least to realise its practical advantages. On 15 October 1881, Every McLean, who had long been troubled by Ngatihaua squatters disputing his title to the land at Horahora, came to seek Tawhiao's help. Within a few days he received an assurance that he would have no more trouble.¹³ On 9 November,

9. See W.G. Mair to Under Secretary, Native Department, 4 June 1881, MA 23/4b, N.O. 81/1866.

10. Cf. the sensational headlines of the Waikato Times of 2 June 1881.

11. First reports had it, quite falsely, that the cattle of a settler on Crown grant land had been interfered with.

12. Report of W.G. Mair to W. Rolleston, 6 June 1881, MA 23/4b, N.O. 81/1867.

13. Waikato Times, 15 and 20 October 1881.

after Tawhiao had spoken against some Ngatikauwhata disputants, two other settlers, Grice and Walker, were able to take possession of two blocks which, despite a Native Land Court decision, the Maoris had occupied for many months.¹⁴ And in December Tawhiao sent a messenger to the Maungatautari people that they should cease their obstruction.¹⁵

Such decisions earned Tawhiao not only the gratitude but also the respect of the settlers. His readiness to uphold the decisions of the Land Court gave him a new reputation as a lawful citizen, though this was hardly the point which Tawhiao had wished to make. The Court decisions had been upheld, he hoped to emphasize, only because of his intervention.¹⁶ He alone could influence the agitators; his authority must therefore be recognized and supported. It was, in fact, essential for the peaceful settlement of the district. But the friendship of the Waikato pakeha was, in the King's

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14. Waikato Times, 15 November 1881. E.B. Walker led an association of Auckland land speculators which successfully bought nearly all the land in the vast Patetere district. See M.P.K. Sorrenson, *The Purchase of Maori Lands, 1865-1892* (Auckland University, M.A. thesis, 1955), pp.138-143. The two blocks occupied on this occasion were Pukekura and Puaehoe.
15. Waikato Times, 8 December 1881 and 17 December 1881. The 8,000 acres at Maungatautari were owned by R.H.D. Fergusson. Trouble over all these blocks had started when in the early 'seventies, the Land Court granted certificates of title to kupapa who presented themselves, while many other claimants, supporters of the King, received nothing. For a history of the early litigation see Report of James MacKay, junior, 10 July 1873, AJHR, 1873, G-3.
16. Cf. the King's letter to Mr Tole, read by Wahanui at a public meeting at Kihikihi, assuring him of possession of his land at Otautahanga. Waikato Times, 13 August 1881.

opinion, not enough. If he were to be successful the Aucklanders, whose lands bordered his own, must be convinced of his good intentions.¹⁷ His power, if it were to be effective, must be recognized outside his own territory. Taking advantage, therefore, of his long-standing invitation to visit the town,¹⁸ Tawhiao decided to postpone his journey no longer. In January 1882, when work on his new settlement was well under way, he left, with fifty followers,¹⁹ for Auckland. Like the people of Waikato before them, the Aucklanders were tremendously excited at the news that they were to be hosts to the Maori King. Under the mayor's direction, the leading citizens formed a public committee to make preparations for his stay. The city was divided into four parts for the purpose of raising funds; a series of sub-committees was established to cover every aspect of the royal visit.²⁰ Nothing was to be left to chance. So anxious was the mayor lest Tawhiao be in any way offended that, despite Mair's assurances that no reception would be necessary when the King stopped en route to visit Tuhaere at Orakei,²¹ he was on the platform at Green

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17. See the speeches of Tawhiao and Wahanui at the Auckland banquet to Tawhiao. New Zealand Herald, 20 January 1882.
18. See above, p. 94. He had promised to accept their invitation very soon. See Waikato Times, 6 August 1881.
19. A list of the chosen few was read aloud before the departure; there were many hundreds of disappointed followers. The party left Alexandra, accompanied by W.G. Mair, on 16 January, a week after Tawhiao had announced his intention of going to Auckland. W.G. Mair, Diary, 9 January 1882.
20. Waikato Times, 14 January 1882; New Zealand Herald, 16 January 1882.
21. Mair also explained that the King stopped at Orakei first because "it does not accord with Maori custom to go by the places of your friends, and then turn back to visit them..." New Zealand Herald, 14 January 1882.

Lane station to greet him. The King was loudly cheered as he left for Paora's village in four horse-drawn carriages provided by the Government.²² During the next two days, while Tawhiao and his family and counsellors remained quietly at Orakei, the townsfolk feverishly completed the arrangements.²³ Finally, on the morning of 19 January 1882, clad magnificently in an ornamented mat and a white bell topper decorated with huia and peacock feathers,²⁴ the King boarded a special steamer sent to convey him to Auckland.²⁵

It was a nostalgic, but a triumphant return. On the wharf Tawhiao's secretary read a prepared speech, addressed to the ancestors and the land rather than to the vast, uncomprehending crowd or the somewhat disconcerted reception committee.²⁶ Tawhiao's general sentiments nevertheless were enthusiastically applauded and, with the city dignitaries, he was ushered into the waiting carriages amid acclamation. Escorted by a long and orderly procession, the King and his party moved slowly through the crowded streets to their hotel. For the next week, Tawhiao was to be the honoured

22. New Zealand Herald, 17 January 1882.

23. Ibid., 18 January 1882.

24. It is interesting to recall that at the elevation of Potatau to the kingship, a white bell topper, which had been used to denote all the previous kings-designate, was placed on his head. See Pei Te Hurinui Jones, King Potatau, pp. 197, 207.

25. New Zealand Herald, 20 January 1882.

26. The Herald thoughtfully provided a lengthy explanation (written by C.O. Davis) for its readers next morning. Ibid., 20 January 1882.

guest of the people who had once been so eager to malign him.²⁷

The citizens certainly behaved splendidly. On the night of his arrival he was given an impressive civic banquet.²⁸ He witnessed a special fireworks display; he was taken to a limelight exhibition, and sat for his portrait at Bartlett's studio.²⁹ He was invited to the Attorney General's residence at Lake Takapuna; he was guest of honour at the Auckland regatta.³⁰ He attended a society luncheon at Mangere, a mayoral dinner,³¹ and a garden party given him by J.C. Firth at which not only the city councillors but members of the House of Representatives and the Legislative Council, and the **foreign** consuls were present.³² And he had an interview before he left with the Premier, Sir John Hall.

Remarkably enough, therefore, the whole visit passed off without any mention of political matters. The Premier, no doubt carefully briefed by Bryce, made a swift reference to the sovereignty of the Queen, but otherwise even he avoided the subject.³³ While Bryce, who had not yet sorted out his policy, hoped for the King to

27. The Herald was so overwhelmed by the occasion that instead of referring to Tawhiao as "the so-called Maori king", it called him "The Maori King, Potatau II", and went so far as to announce that it now recognized that many of the leaders of the early King movement had been motivated by "patriotic and pure" motives. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid., 23 and 24 January 1882.

30. Ibid., 30 and 31 January 1882.

31. Ibid., 23 January 1882.

32. Ibid., 24 January 1882. The Maoris were far more impressed with the ice-cream than with the distinguished guests.

33. See Interview of Tawhiao with the Hon. John Hall, *ibid.*, 1 February 1882.

make the first move,³⁴ the citizens of Auckland congratulated themselves on their restraint in not taking advantage of the King's visit to discuss the opening of his lands.³⁵ But they would in any case have made little headway. Tawhiao had come to Auckland on a visit of goodwill. "I have been cultivating the friendship of all the influential men of Auckland, and am very pleased with what I have seen", he told Hall.³⁶ The gentlemen of Auckland had received him as their companion; soon perhaps they would admit his political equality. The whole point of his visit had been to prepare them for his great speech, to ensure its acceptance the following March.³⁷ Nothing could have persuaded him to speak in January of his intentions, to ruin by premature intimation all hope of their being approved. Nothing, moreover, would have induced him to speak on European soil.³⁸ His announcement would be made at Whatiwhatihoce in his own domains.

The Europeans nevertheless were still to be present. For

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34. F. Whitaker to W. Rolleston, 6 February 1882. Rolleston Papers, 6, 1882. Cf. also W.G. Mair's comment: "Bryce is groaning about the 'expense' and seems very indifferent about it (the visit)..." W.G. Mair to Gilbert Mair, 9 January [1882]. Mair Family Papers (Series B), 7. John Bryce had been recalled as Native Minister in October 1881 to deal with Te Whiti.
35. Editorial, New Zealand Herald, 24 January 1882.
36. Interview of Tawhiao with Hon. John Hall, *ibid.*, 1 February 1882.
37. *Ibid.*; see also Tawhiao's speech at the mayoral dinner, *ibid.*, 23 January 1882.
38. Cf. Tawhiao's reply to Henare Kaihau, who tried to arrange an earlier meeting between Bryce and the King at Alexandra. *Ibid.*, 7 March 1882.

Tawhiao's speech would herald the coming of peace not only between him and the Government but between the peoples of both races.³⁹ A new era would begin in which they would help each other and learn each other's skills. Thus it was that Tawhiao invited not only members of the Government and Auckland officials, but also the pakeha tradesmen. The invitation which he sent to the Mayor was quite explicit on this point: "I have appointed that all chiefs, lawmakers, lawyers, farmers, storekeepers, publicans, shoemakers, blacksmiths, carters, and the whole people are to come."⁴⁰ The intermingling of the races at a Maori hui would be the first step towards the new amity; on the foundation of the good feeling engendered at Whatiwhatihoe peace would thrive atlast.⁴¹

Tawhiao's hopes, however, were inevitably doomed to disappointment. When at last the meeting began no more than a dozen pakeha were present.⁴² The only Government representative was Robert Bush, the native agent, who had, as Tawhiao knew, no power to speak for the Government.⁴³ Whether the King's plans might have met with more success had he kept to his original date is difficult to determine. But on his return from Auckland he found that in settling on 1 March he had been over-optimistic.

39. Interview of Tawhiao with the Hon. John Hall, New Zealand Herald, 1 February 1882.

40. King Tawhiao to Mr Clark, the mayor of Auckland, 13 February 1882; invitation published in New Zealand Herald, 17 February 1882.

41. Cf. Tawhiao's speech at the Auckland Banquet, *ibid.*, 20 January 1882.

42. Waikato Times, 16 May 1882.

43. Bush was instructed to tell Tawhiao that he would carry proposals to the Government, but could not speak for it. F. Whitaker, draft of reply to Bush's telegram of 3 May 1882, KA 23/4b, filed after N.O. 82/1267.

At his village only a handful of whare had been completed and the late maturing of the potato crop, the staple food for the meeting, made an early start impossible.⁴⁴ The delay, while unavoidable, proved fatal to the spirit of the hui. When the invitation was first published, a substantial number of Aucklanders were reported to be considering the journey south;⁴⁵ even the Government, in replying, left its decision open.⁴⁶ But by May, the opening of the parliamentary session was imminent and Bryce, the only Minister who might have accepted, was determined to show the King that his gathering, in these circumstances, could not be important enough to warrant his attendance.⁴⁷ The onset of the chilling Waikato winter, moreover, easily dampened the curiosity of the northerners. Tawhiao's hour, in short, had passed.

It was, however, not only the failure of the pakeha to arrive which dogged the meeting. It assembled under the far greater shadow of Ngatimaniapoto disaffection. Wetera te Rerenga, the Ngatimaniapoto chief of lower Mokau, had shown himself restless as early as the 1881 meeting. Charged by Tawhiao to look after the royal interests at Mokau, he had raised strenuous objections and, after refusing to sign a compact entrusting his lands to the King,

44. Waikato Times, 4 February 1882.

45. New Zealand Herald, 9 February 1882.

46. See copy of draft reply to Tawhiao's invitation MA 23/4b, N.O. 82/765, and Memo. for Governor, 25 March 1882, MA 23/4b, N.O. 82/764a. The Governor thought that one Minister at least should attend.

47. For the later Government view see F. Whitaker, copy of reply to W. Sloan's telegram of 1 May 1882, MA 23/4b, N.O. 82/1205.

had left the meeting precipitately.⁴⁸ A few months later he made his first attempt to secure a sitting of the Land Court at Mokau.⁴⁹ The Native Minister, who was unwilling to see the lands pass into private European hands,⁵⁰ refused his application.⁵¹ But Wetere persisted. At the end of the year he made a journey to Waitara where he aroused the sympathies of the settlers, and at a meeting there it was decided to petition Parliament for a court.⁵² By now the King was growing alarmed. In January 1882 he wrote to Major Parris affirming his overlordship of the Mokau lands.⁵³ The quarrel at once became public. Tawhiao's letter was published in the Taranaki paper; Wetere's reply made the New Zealand Herald. He would apply for a court, he said, if he wished; the Mokau lands were his own. The King had no grounds for interference: "Tawhiao", he added defiantly, "has nothing to do with us."⁵⁴ Such a blatant denial of the kingship could not go unanswered. "The land is mine,

48. Wetere te Rerenga to the Editor, New Zealand Herald, 14 March 1882, published 17 March 1882.

49. He had in fact signed his first application for a survey on 1 August 1879, but it seems that no further progress was made, probably because of the later opposition of Rewi. See above, p.78.

50. The Government already owned large lands at Mokau, but Bryce evidently hoped to acquire rather more, perhaps in the hope of being able to use it for the Auckland-Taranaki railway. W.H. Grace to J. Jones, 19 February 1883, W.H. Grace Letter book, pp.396-8.

51. Waikato Times, 29 December 1881.

52. Ibid., see also ibid., 17 January 1882.

53. I have not seen the letter itself but its contents are evident. Cf. Wetere te Rerenga's letter "To the Press of Taranaki", 12 January 1882, reprinted in the New Zealand Herald, 28 January 1882.

54. Ibid. See also Wetere te Rerenga to the Editor, 14 March 1882, published in the New Zealand Herald, 17 March 1882.

and the people are mine", Tawhiao reiterated.⁵⁵ Wetere had no right to act before the matter had been discussed: he must bring his lands before the tribes. The Land Court might follow if he insisted, but first Tawhiao would hear his case. The King was standing on his new authority. The Mokau lands were within his boundary; he must be consulted as to their fate.⁵⁶ It was the first and, in fact, the crucial test of the strength of the compact. And it failed.

Its inefficacy, however, was due not to the expansion of the King's power but rather to its obvious limits. If Tawhiao was contesting Mokau with Ngatimaniapoto he was also involved in a struggle against the Government. Wetere's desire for the court, after all, arose solely from his need to have the title to his lands defined. A group of Ngatitama, who for some years had been living as guests of Ngatimaniapoto in the Mokau area,⁵⁷ were threatening to deprive Wetere of his ancestral lands. Whether they themselves had decided on a court in the hope of securing a title to the land, or whether they were talked into it by impatient Europeans is uncertain; in any event, by 1881 they were ready to receive advances on their lands and were moving rapidly towards an investigation of the title.⁵⁸ Wetere, it was obvious, could not simply stand aside,

55. Tawhiao to the people of Mokau, encl. in C.O. Davis, Letter to the Editor, published in the New Zealand Herald, 2 March 1882.

56. Ibid.

57. Ngatitama had been expelled by Ngatimaniapoto from Poutama in about 1830; in about 1871, however, Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto agreed to allow Ngatitama to return, and Rewi went to Mokau to hand over the land formally. R. Parris to D. McLean, 11 February 1871, AJHR, 1871, F-6B, No.23.

58. Rewi Maniapoto to John Bryce, 14 March 1882, copy in W.H. Grace, Letter book, p.217. Translated by the Rev. Maka Mete. See also speech of Wetere to Rerenga at the King's 1882 meeting, Waikato Times, 16 May 1882.

the more so since he too, in Joshua Jones, had a potential buyer. But his first application for assistance, to the King, went unanswered.⁵⁹ Tawhiao, to his embarrassment, was too deeply involved in the case to be able to adjudicate; he himself, on the advice of Wahanui, had placed the Ngatitama on the land.⁶⁰ Despite the fact, then, that they had withdrawn their allegiance, the land remained under Tawhiao's mana, under the mana moreover of a Waikato.

The King was thus caught in an intertribal land dispute. As a Waikato, he was powerless to play the independent rôle to which he aspired; it was impossible for him to transcend his own tribal affiliation. In the meantime, he could neither force the renegades to recognize his decision, nor satisfy the **Ngatimaniapoto**. The old problem of the kingship stood glaringly revealed; dependent on the consent of the governed, it had no defence against the hostility of the ungoverned. The new Kingite plan had aimed, by bringing all the lands and people within the aukati under Tawhiao's sway, at removing this anomaly. But his plea to Wetere to wait until the March meeting, until the announcement which would remove the necessity for outside intervention, fell on deaf ears. Wetere's only chance now lay with an impartial authority, with the Native Land Court; his only alternative was forfeit of all his lands.

59. Speech of Wetere te Rerenga... Waikato Times, 16 May 1882.

60. Ibid. See also Waikato Times, 22 June 1882. In 1868 the Ngatimaniapoto chiefs had placed the Mokau lands under the mana of the King; hence the necessity, in 1871, for his decision as to whether Ngatitama might return.

If the King could not guarantee his title, he must apply elsewhere, to the Government.

The Mokau dispute, precipitated by anxious European purchasers, had erupted when Tawhiao's plans were in their most delicate phase. Unable, as yet, to reveal their substance, he was forced into a silence which could result only in their destruction. He was dependent for their success on Ngatimaniapoto co-operation- which had been, for the time, forthcoming. But Weterere's case brought the dilemma of the Ngatimaniapoto landowners into prominence unexpectedly early. Forced to choose between Tawhiao and their lands, no Ngatimaniapoto would hesitate. It was only on account of the lands after all, that they had continued to support him; if the King had become a menace, rather than a protection, his power need no longer be maintained. Such at least was the common Ngatimaniapoto view; "... the Ngati Maniapoto's (sic) are exceedingly wrath at Tawhiao's letter re Mokau..." W.H. Grace reported to a friend.⁶¹ His plea for delay was regarded merely as unwarranted Waikato interference in Ngatimaniapoto affairs.

This passive support for his case was of course very encouraging to Weterere. But it was the active assistance of Rewi Maniapoto which enabled him to emerge triumphant from his dilemma. Rewi had himself already been toying with the idea of seeking a Court for some of the Ngatimaniapoto lands. Under the influence

61. W.H. Grace to J. Jones, 28 March 1882, W.H. Grace, Letterbook, p.220. See also W.H. Grace, Diary, 7 March 1882.

of W.H. Grace, now a private land agent at Kihikihi,⁶² and his Maori wife, he moved rapidly during the last months of 1881 towards the acceptance of the Court. In October he had still been hesitant and had declined Grace's request to write to the Native Minister consenting to the Mokau court. He did not wish, he said, to commit himself.⁶³ But by December he had already begun to investigate the possibility of putting some of his own lands through, and on this understanding had given a large block of Taupo land over to the management of one of his chiefs, Hitiri te Paerata.⁶⁴

As Rewi stood thus trembling on the brink a completely new danger reared its head. Early in February 1882 Alexander MacDonald, a land agent from the south,⁶⁵ arrived in the Waikato and began to foment trouble among the Ngatihaua. "... his object", wrote Grace, "is to upset titles to Puhue, Pukekura, and Maungatautari Blocks."⁶⁶ MacDonald held a large meeting and began, with great success, to collect signatures to a petition requesting a rehearing of the cases.⁶⁷

62. Grace had lost his Government appointment when Sheehan went out of office. In 1880 he went into practice at Cambridge as a licensed interpreter and native land purchase agent; he worked for many of the Auckland speculators.

63. W.H. Grace to J. Jones, 27 October 1881. W.H. Grace Letterbook, p.175.

64. W.H. Grace to J. Jones, 12 December 1881. Ibid., pp.184-5.

65. He described himself as an adopted member of the Ngatikauwhata tribe; in the early 1870's he had been active among them fomenting opposition to the reserves granted them in the Manawatu Block. More recently, however, he had been engaged in buying Maori land for the Wellington-Manawatu Railway Company. Waikato Times, 11 March 1882.

66. W.H. Grace, Diary, 5 February 1882.

67. W.H. Grace to R.H.D. Fergusson, 14 February 1882. W.H. Grace, Letterbook, pp.198-9

Nor was this all. Ngatihaua were preparing to survey a further block of Ngatimaniapoto-claimed land. Rewi was furious. "They alienated the land", he said, "and are now trying to sell mine."⁶⁸ The rapacious Ngatihaua, notorious for their land-dealing,⁶⁹ had no right to meddle with his lands. It was time now to show them that they could not interfere with impunity. Rewi would defend his lands, if he must, even in the Government Land Court.

It was at this auspicious moment that the Native Minister arrived in Auckland. Rewi, anxious to discuss these new developments with Bryce, at once invited him to Waikato and, on 22 February, held a dinner in his honour at Kihikihi. It was a very successful meeting. Vastly impressed both with Bryce's straightforward manner and with his advice against selling land, Rewi announced before the evening was over that he intended to put his lands through the Court.⁷⁰ The next morning, having fully considered his decision during the night, he caught Bryce before he left for Hamilton and reiterated his determination. The announcement, moreover, was to be publicised, "... so that the natives might judge his action whether it was right or wrong."⁷¹

68. Speech of Rewi at his conference with the Native Minister, New Zealand Herald, 23 February 1882.

69. As early as 1873 it was reported that Ngatihaua, since losing 150,000 acres in the Confiscation, had alienated 158,745 acres to Europeans, and that only 40,000 acres remained to them. "The Ngatihaua as a people", added MacKay, "are addicted to drunkenness and are great spendthrifts." Report of James Mackay, junior, 10 July 1873, AJHR, 1873, G-3.

70. New Zealand Herald, 23 February 1882.

71. Ibid., 25 February 1882.

A month later, after receiving Hitiri's description of the boundaries of the Tatua Block, Rewi asked Grace to fill in the application for a court.⁷² The following week he wrote to the Chief Surveyor asking for a man to begin at once and, at the same time, he and Hitiri applied for a court to be held at Kihikihi for five blocks of land, including Tatua.⁷³ Whatever his people thought—and probably he did not care very much—Rewi had committed himself irrevocably to the Court. He was, once again, a step ahead of them. He knew, as Wahanui did not, that direct negotiation with the Government was no way to protect the land. If the Land Court would succeed where he had failed, he was prepared to try it.

Wetere te Rerenga was quick to profit from this burst of litigating energy. On 7 March 1882 the Mokau Ngatimaniapoto held a meeting and decided, on the advice of Grace, to send Wetere to Kihikihi to seek Rewi's help.⁷⁴ The mission was a fruitful one. "You should support the person undertaking this work, namely Wetere te Rerenga, concerning the Mokau lands",⁷⁵ Rewi wrote admonishingly to Bryce. How otherwise would the tree they had planted bear its fruit? And he reminded Bryce that it was he who held the mana

72. W.H. Grace, Diary, 20 March 1882.

73. See W.H. Grace to P. Smith, 27 March 1882, W.H. Grace Letterbook, p.219, and W.H. Grace, Diary, 27 and 28 March 1882.

74. W.H. Grace, Diary, 7 March 1882. See also Wetere te Rerenga to John Bryce, 14 March 1882, copy in W.H. Grace, Letterbook, pp.207-8. Translated by the Rev. Maka Mete.

75. Rewi Maniapoto to John Bryce, 14 March 1882. Copy in W.H. Grace, Letterbook, p.217. Translated by the Rev. Maka Mete.

over the Mokau lands. Te Rerenga, however, had managed them for the past year and his request for a Court was perfectly valid. Wetere added his indignation; "Don't stand in the way of the tribes of Mokau in their wishes for the Maori Land Court", he wrote.⁷⁶ Did Bryce wish, after all, to support Tawhiao's claim, to support the claim of a chief whose case would never survive the investigation of the Court? "If we both went in to the Native Lands (sic) Court, I would not be afraid of the result", he declaimed in a letter to The New Zealand Herald.⁷⁷ Such publicity made it impossible for Bryce to hold out longer. On 28 March the notification of the Mokau court, the first land court to be held over Ngatimaniapoto lands, was published.⁷⁸ The opening of the King Country, it seemed to the jubilant settlers, was soon to be achieved.

Tawhiao's meeting, in these circumstances, was an awkward occasion. Successfully sabotaged even before it began by both Ngatimaniapoto and the Government, it fell miserably short of the King's expectations. Still hoping that the Government would send a representative with whom he could treat, Tawhiao postponed the opening for days.⁷⁹ But Bryce's intransigence left him no choice other than to proceed on his own. In the absence of the Native Minister, therefore, he addressed himself to the tribes. The

76. Wetere te Rerenga to John Bryce, 14 March 1882. Copy in W.H. Grace, Letterbook, pp.207-8. Trans. by the Rev. Maka Nete.

77. Wetere te Rerenga to the Editor, 14 March 1882, New Zealand Herald, 17 March 1882.

78. It was dated 27 March 1882.

79. Waikato Times, 4 May 1882; R.S. Bush to J. Bryce, 8 May 1882 MA 23/4b, N.O. 82/1270, and R.S. Bush to J. Bryce, 10 May 1882, MA 23/4b, N.O. 82/1344.

leasing, the selling, the surveying of land, said Tawhiao, must cease. There was to be no more road-building and no more prospecting. As for the Land Court "... let it be in abeyance..." Kawhia was his and Mokau was his; Weterere was only in charge of the Mokau lands. Within the King's boundaries, from Mokau to Whanganui, to Tongariri, his word was to hold good; all trafficking in land was to cease forthwith. As Tawhiao was the first to point out, it was hardly a novel pronouncement: "I am wearied in speaking so often about those things..."⁸⁰ But the speech, it seems certain, was a mere improvisation. It was not to hear such well-worn words that he had invited the Governor, the Ministers and the mayor of Auckland. Their very absence made it impossible for him to put forward his cherished proposals. Until such time as they were prepared to listen, the present state of affairs must continue.

With this conclusion, at least, Ngatimaniapoto were in agreement. Far from intending alienation of their lands, they sought above all to avoid it. "I have not encouraged in any way the survey for the selling and leasing of land", Rewi said.⁸¹ He accepted the survey only because it was necessary to the retention of his lands and because he saw insecurity of title as the greatest barrier to co-operation between the two races. While unscrupulous land agents could incite hapu with small or no claims to institute court

80. William Berry to John Bryce, 13 May 1882, MA 23/4b. Filed after N.O. 82/1339.

81. William Berry to John Bryce, 16 May 1882, MA 23/4b, N.O. 82/1852.

proceedings, there could be no security. And it was security beyond everything which he sought— security for his own people, security for the King. If he were successful in having his boundary defined, he explained at Whatiwhatihoe, he would be able to provide a home for Tawhiao forever. Tawhiao should have the lands between Whatiwhatihoe and the Wairaka stream; these would be his in perpetuity. As to the rest, Rewi would deal with them. Beyond the Wairaka, he alone would hold authority. "I say to Tawhiao, you remain, and I will be the opponent of both Europeans and Natives who have purchased land..."⁸²

Such a passive rôle, however, was hardly what Tawhiao had envisaged. He wanted to conduct his own negotiations, to ensure the establishment of peace himself. In the meantime he would send Wi te Wheoro as a special envoy to lay his case before Parliament.⁸³ But this was an unsatisfactory substitute for personal negotiation. Before anything could be achieved, the distance to Wellington which so frustrated Tawhiao's attempts at a settlement, must be overcome. Parliament therefore must be brought to Auckland.⁸⁴ Only when Tawhiao could speak in Parliament would he be able to come to an

82. Tawhiao's Meeting at Whatiwhatihoe in May 1882 (Reports of) AJHR, 1882, G-4A, p.11.

83. William Berry to John Bryce, 13 May 1882, MA 23/4b, filed after N.O. 82/1339.

84. Ibid. A large majority of the meeting voted in favour of this provision. Rewi later tried to explain that Tawhiao had meant that only government representatives should come, but the wording of the King's speeches does not support such an interpretation. See Rewi Maniapoto to Bryce, 15 May 1882. Copy in W.H. Grace, Letterbook, p.259.

understanding; only then would the interests of his people receive the attention they deserved. "I wish all the people to understand", he declared on the final day, "that I am the person to manage the whole of the affairs."⁸⁵ But it was not a convincing speech. Notwithstanding the expectations of the tribes who had assembled to hear his last words, Tawhiao had arrived drunk and, unable to speak, fell asleep during the disapproving speeches of his counsellors.⁸⁶

It was an expression no doubt of his profound disappointment. Even in its revised form, the meeting could achieve nothing; the attitude of Ngatimaniapoto had rendered it irrelevant. Rewi's offer to accommodate the King was the crowning insult. His refusal to acknowledge the new chiefly power, his insistence on the ceremonial nature of the kingship, were indications that nothing now would delay the execution of his plans. Rewi had never regarded the meeting as a policy-making affair; it came, on the contrary, only as an interruption. Despite Te Wheoro's representations that he could make no impression on Parliament unless there was for the time being a complete cessation of land dealing, Rewi refused to give up the Mokau court. That, he said, was part of his scheme.⁸⁷ Within a week of the meeting, he was writing to the Mokau men instructing them all to attend the court and to fight Ngatitama to

85. Tawhiao's Meeting... AJHR, 1882, G-4A, pp.12-13.

86. Ibid., pp.11-12. See also R.S. Bush to John Bryce, 27 May 1882, MA 23/4b, N.O. 82/1650. There had been a considerable amount of drinking throughout the meeting.

87. Tawhiao's Meeting... AJHR, 1882, G-4A, pp. 8 and 10.

the bitter end.⁸⁸ And by 22 June 1882 the first Ngatimaniapoto lands were through the Court.⁸⁹ At the same time, Rewi was pressing on with his own boundary. On 18 August, despite Ngatihaua objections, he began the survey of the Otautahanga Manukatutahi block, a large piece of land south of Orakau, whose title he was anxious to defend against them.⁹⁰ Tawhiao's stale injunctions, it was evident, were no match for the attractions of the Land Court.

The King's overtures to Parliament, however, were more fruitful. Te Wheoro, admittedly, suffered an initial setback when Bryce retorted in the House that he would be delighted to give Tawhiao an answer if only he would first make some proposals.⁹¹ But Sir George Grey, urged by Rewi to plead the case for some Government representatives to come to Auckland,⁹² managed to elicit the information that Bryce himself intended making the journey as soon as the session was over.⁹³ On 27 October 1882 the Native Minister arrived at last in Alexandra. Tawhiao, with a small party of chiefs, was there to greet him, but he did not stay; Alexandra after all was not his town.

88. See W.H. Grace to [I.L.] Tole, 25 May 1882, W.H. Grace, Letterbook, p.265, and W.H. Grace Diary, 25 May 1882.

89. Waikato Times, 22 June 1882. The blocks were Mokau-Mohakatino and Mohakatino Parininihi.

90. W.H. Grace, Diary, 10-18 August 1882. See also W.H. Grace to J. Howard, 19 August 1882, W.H. Grace, Letterbook, pp.277-8.

91. NZPD, Vol.41, 22 June 1882, p.645. A résumé of the King's Whatiwhatihoe speech had been laid on the table of the House on 26 May 1882. See Letter from Te Wheoro, M.H.R. to the Speaker, forwarding proposals from Tawhiao, AJHR, 1882, G-4, pp.1-2.

92. Rewi Maniapoto to George Grey, 15 May 1882. Copy in W.H. Grace, Letterbook, pp.257-8.

93. NZPD, Vol.41, 13 June 1882, p.413.

He came only to invite Bryce to his own village where the talking, as he had always planned, was to take place.⁹⁴

Next day, with an audience of 400 Maoris, Bryce fulfilled the ostensible object of his visit by making the first official crossing of the newly completed Waipa bridge.⁹⁵ Despite the vast amount of food consumed in celebration,⁹⁶ it was not a very festive occasion. The Government, for their part, had failed to achieve their ambition of persuading Tawhiao to agree to a connecting road through his territory.⁹⁷ But Tawhiao's disappointment was as great. The bridge, he told Bryce, had been his experiment, his first gesture towards the pakeha. But it was not a success. His trust in his own people had been misplaced; they had used their new access to Europeans only to sell and lease their land.⁹⁸ The time, it was clear, had not yet come when the pakeha might be safely admitted to his lands.

Tawhiao was prepared nonetheless to consider the interests of the Europeans. He would not, despite his disapproval, eject them summarily from his territory. The proposals which he made

94. Waikato Times, 28 October 1882. The King had in fact already sent Bryce two invitations; his chief anxiety was that Bryce would go and see Rewi instead. See King Tawhiao to Bryce, 26 October 1882. MA 23/3, N.O. 82/3710.

95. Waikato Times, 31 October 1882. The bridge had been completed in August, and the Maoris fenced it round until the Native Minister should come to open it. *Ibid.*, 22 August 1882.

96. Tawhiao presented twenty-three head of cattle for the opening, and the Government responded with provisions. See New Zealand Herald, 28 October 1882.

97. Waikato Times, 6 July 1882.

98. The Kingite Meeting, New Zealand Herald, 31 October 1882.

to Bryce on 30 October, the first day of their meeting, were in fact generous. The Europeans might stay, but they would from now on be under his authority. All the townships as far as Mangatawhiri-Alexandra, Te Awamutu, Kihikihi, Ngaruawahia- were his. Mangatawhiri was the boundary of the lands of his ancestors; these were his and his alone, and here the Government had no place. In the Waikato Tawhiao would administer affairs; beyond his boundary the Government would attend to theirs. His was a reasonable request. "... I ask you to leave me the administration of my own land, and also the control of my own people." ⁹⁹

Bryce turned him down, as he had to, forthwith. It was impossible for him, he said, to grant such requests. Nor would it be of any use to Tawhiao. European civilization was intruding relentlessly, even into the heart of Maoridom. Nothing now could turn it aside; the Maoris, therefore, instead of fighting it, must learn how to live with it. They must accept the sovereignty of the Queen; they must deal carefully with their lands and make provision for their children. He himself would help them to ensure that their lands were not lost. The Government, then, would put forward its own proposals. Bryce's was an impressive speech. Scrupulously fair, he was perhaps the first Native Minister to urge the Kingites not to sell their lands. In his explanation of the Queen's sovereignty he was exceptionally lucid, and his discussion

99. The New Zealand Herald, 31 October 1882.

of the plight of Waikato showed not only a real understanding of the problem but a great deal of sympathy.¹⁰⁰

It remains difficult nonetheless to over-estimate the effect on Tawhiao of the Native Minister's reply. For the last eighteen months at least, probably for much longer, he had been waiting for this moment. The Native Minister had come at last to treat with him at his capital. They stood face to face as representatives of their peoples. Tawhiao had risen to speak first, to offer his solution to their racial difficulties. Not only were his proposals entitled to respect; they stood, he was convinced, a good chance of being accepted. Yet Bryce seemed hardly to have heard them. "... I take it", he said, "that there is not a man present who thinks that his [Tawhiao's] demands could possibly be complied with."¹⁰¹ Nor did he refer to them again. Instead, he left his own proposals for Tawhiao's consideration. The Government, he promised, would return the bulk of the confiscated land west of Waipa and Waikato to Tawhiao and his people.¹⁰² They would give him the section of land he had asked for at Kaipara,¹⁰³ a pension and a house. Further, they would press Ngatimaniapoto to give Tawhiao a piece of their land. And since, as Bryce explained, the Government recognized him as a great

100. New Zealand Herald, 31 October 1882.

101. Ibid.

102. Bryce estimated that there were 20,000 unsold acres, and that 300 Waikatos (presumably 300 Waikato families) would have to be provided for. New Zealand Times, 2 November 1882. Cutting in MA 23/3, N.O. 82/3339. Cf. Fig.1.

103. Tawhiao had told Hall in Auckland that he would like to live at Kaipara occasionally. New Zealand Herald, 1 February 1882.

chief, they were prepared to make him an assessor of the Native Land Court, an assessor of the Resident Magistrate's Court, and a Justice of the Peace. Finally, they would nominate him to a seat in the Legislative Council. ¹⁰⁴

To Bryce, to the Government, and to the settlers, these offers appeared irresistible. Generous and flattering both, they were so obviously to the King's advantage that few considered the possibility of a refusal. ¹⁰⁵ Yet Bryce's proposals, however well-meant, were a measure of his complete lack of comprehension of the Kingites. He understood their plight but not their character. His was a sensible European solution, but one totally alien to the Maori way of thinking. To Tawhiao, not only Bryce's terms but his whole attitude were totally irrelevant. The King had come to parley as an equal, to discuss the boundary between their respective spheres of influence. Bryce simply assumed that there were no such spheres, that all the lands and authority belonged to the Government. "I approve of the proposals in the first, second and third paragraphs of the... memorandum..." said Tawhiao. "But I look upon those lands as mine."¹⁰⁶ Here was no great concession; Bryce had merely offered him his own. But it was Bryce's treatment of the issue of governance which was most galling. Ignoring the King's suggestion that there were already

104. For a full text of the proposals see T.W. Lewis, Memorandum, 4 November 1882, MA 23/3, N.O. 82/3713.

105. See, for instance, The New Zealand Herald, editorial, 31 October 1882.

106. The Kingite Meeting, New Zealand Herald, 3 November 1882. The first three paragraphs all referred to the Government's offers of land- in the Waikato, at Kaipara, and from Ngatimaniapoto territory.

two existing authorities, he wished only to incorporate a "great chief" into an existing European polity, to assimilate him wholly. Tawhiao was to be a mere officer of the Queen's government, who would sanction the Queen's law and enforce the judgements of the Queen's courts among his own people. He would be working not beside the pakeha government but for it. His acceptance of Bryce's proposals, in short, would amount to a practical renunciation of his own authority. And such a resignation was beyond Tawhiao's power. His authority rested with the tribes; he could no more lay it aside without their consent than he could extend it.

By their very nature, Bryce's proposals were doomed from the start. The King did not, however, reject them out of hand. For two days, the Kingites discussed the memorandum privately. Certainly, it seems, if the King was not quite ready for a compromise, he would have liked much longer to debate the terms.¹⁰⁷ But Bryce was impatient. Either way he wanted a quick result. He refused, too, to be content with anything less than a total capitulation. The King, he said, must accept all his terms and he must do it at once. If Tawhiao refused he would withdraw them completely and would carry them back with him to Auckland.¹⁰⁸ But the Kingites would not be hustled. As Wahanui shrewdly observed, Bryce would be perfectly content were they to accept the offers relative to authority and reject that of the return of the lands. It was therefore

107. He asked Bryce to leave the rest of the proposals to the consideration of the tribes. New Zealand Herald, 3 November 1882.

108. Ibid., 6 November 1882.

sovereignty, he said, which was at stake. And it was impossible to settle such an important matter in the few days which Bryce had allowed. He had in any case, as all ministers of the Crown before him, misunderstood the whole issue. There was nothing in the King movement, Tawhiao stressed, and Wahanui after him, which was inimical to the Queen's authority.¹⁰⁹ That was an old European argument and there was no point in repeating it now. Tawhiao had hoped that after twenty years the Government would have understood and would be prepared to discuss something further. But if they would not, he himself could for the present do no more. He would remain therefore with his own people. He would continue to visit the pakeha and to consult with them; they would still be his friends. But when he went home he would go to his own lands, not to lands which the Government had given him and over which the Government ruled.¹¹⁰ He had been offered once before what he wanted; why not again? "If Sir D. McLean were alive now", he repeated constantly, "I should have gone over to him. Sir D. McLean told me I should have the management of my own land."¹¹¹

Nor could he settle for anything less. On 4 November, when Bryce returned to hear the Kingite answer, his proposals, to his surprise,¹¹² were rejected. Bryce reasoned with them until his

109. New Zealand Herald, 6 November 1882.

110. Ibid.

111. Ibid., 31 October 1882.

112. Mair wrote that Bryce tried to appear unconcerned, "but he really was as much taken aback as Grey was at Waitara." W.G. Mair to Gilbert Mair, 16 November (1882), Mair Family Papers (Series B), 7. The Memorandum handed to Tawhiao

patience was finally exhausted. At the close of the meeting he turned once more to Tawhiao. "Is there", he asked, "any further reply?" The King, lying on a mat at his feet, bowed his head. "Wahanui has taken it out of my hands", he said, "and it now rests with him."¹¹³

He spoke not to Bryce, but to Wahanui. He did not mean, as Bryce so swiftly concluded, that he had been unable to come to terms because he lacked the authority to do so.¹¹⁴ It was rather an admission to Wahanui that he had been unable to conclude the sort of agreement that the Ngatimaniapoto chiefs had wanted.¹¹⁵ He had failed to recover the Waikato for himself and his people, had failed moreover to gain Government recognition of his mana over all the lands within the aukati. It had not been his fault. Bryce's terms, aimed as they were at the very destruction of the King, had left no room for bargaining. And so the King had lost his last chance. It had been essential to him that he regain the Waikato before Ngatimaniapoto cast him off. Now, at once, he had lost the

concluded with a sentence betokening his acceptance, with a space for him to write his name. See MA 23/3; N.O. 82/7313.

113. New Zealand Herald, 6 November 1882.

114. Cf. John Bryce to Wahanui, 15 November 1882. Letter produced in evidence by Gabriel Elliott before the Royal Commission on Licensing. Notes of Proceedings, Vol.33, p.4831.

115. Though it was a Waikato meeting, the Ngatimaniapoto were vitally interested in its outcome. At a meeting of their own held the same week, they had strengthened Tawhiao's hand in the negotiations by agreeing to uphold him as King, and Wahanui had pleaded with Bryce to recognize Tawhiao's authority. See Waikato Times, 4 November 1882, and New Zealand Herald, 6 November 1882.

Waikato, and he had forfeited any claim over the Ngatimaniapoto lands. At the very moment when he had proved that he could no longer be of use to them, he was thrust back upon their charity. More than anything, perhaps, his remark was an apology.

Chapter VI

The Invasion of the King Country

The failure of the kingship, though not unexpected,¹ was, it seemed to Wahanui, inopportune. He had always actively promoted the King, had always looked upon him as the protector of his lands. Rewi's view that the King was a menace had never been acceptable to him. Now, at the very time when the King should have been most useful, Wahanui was to be left to deal with the Government himself. It was not a job he wanted;² he preferred to keep the pakeha at arm's length. But it was obvious that they could not be ignored- they were far too dangerous.

Wahanui had indeed been horrified by the tenor of the recent negotiations. He found the impatience, the intransigence of the Government quite incomprehensible.³ But it was Bryce's cavalier treatment of his own lands which amazed him most of all. For Bryce's proposals had included the provision that the Government

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1. There were rumours as early as August 1882 that Wahanui had been replaced as Tawhiao's chief adviser by Te Ngakau. It would seem, therefore, that before the meeting Wahanui had already seen which way things were going, though of course, at the end, he did his best for Tawhiao. See W.H. Grace to J. Jones, 21 August 1882, W.H. Grace, Letterbook, p.282, and T.W. Lewis to Native Minister, 7 October 1882, MA 5/14, no.714.
 2. Cf. Wahanui's vexation with Rewi, who left him on his own to deal with the Government during the Te Mahuki crisis. (See below, pp.136-9), G.T. Wilkinson to John Bryce, 23 March 1883, MA 23/5, N.O. 83/1124.
 3. Cf. his defiant speeches to Bryce on the last day of the November meeting. New Zealand Herald, 6 November 1882.

would press Ngatimaniapoto to donate lands to Tawhiao.⁴ He had mentioned the subject again at the meeting: Ngatimaniapoto, he said, should remember that they had contributed to Tawhiao's landless plight and should be prepared now to help him.⁵ Ironic though this advice must have seemed to Ngatimaniapoto, it nevertheless made a great impact on them. "... the Maniapoto's (sic) are under impression that Bryce can easily take their land away", wrote Grace.⁶ Bryce had shown his power before. Might he not do so again? And the Ngatimaniapoto chiefs were extremely frightened not only at the thought of losing their land, but of losing it to the Waikato.

The immediate effect of such a threat was to draw Wahanui much closer to Rewi. On 6 November he sent a messenger to Rewi asking him to come to Whatiwhatihoe to discuss Bryce's terms.⁷ The following day they wrote letters to Wetere and to the Taupo chiefs asking them to meet to consider this new danger.⁸ Ngatimaniapoto, it was evident, must work together to defend their lands. Rewi took the precaution of making their attitude public. On 5 December he wrote to the editor of the Herald asking him to insert a statement "from the whole of the Ngatimaniapoto". "This is our word, that of Ngatimaniapoto, that we will not consent to

4. See above, p.120.

5. The Kingite Meeting, New Zealand Herald, 31 October 1882.

6. W.H. Grace to J. Howard, 12 November 1882, W.H. Grace, Letter book, p.326.

7. W.H. Grace, Diary, 6 November 1882.

8. Ibid., 7 November 1882.

give land to the Waikatos. This decision has been settled by us, and is unalterable."⁹ Rewi had in the meantime been active in a more practical way. Anxious lest his lands disappear before his eyes, he rose in the Court House at Cambridge to ask that the next sitting, at which his five large blocks were to be adjudicated upon, should be held in Kihikihi, in the heart of Ngatimaniapoto country.¹⁰

The Ngatimaniapoto reaction was not surprising. Bryce's suggestion had exceeded even Rewi's worst expectations. It was one thing to offer to accommodate the King; it was quite another for the Government to appropriate Ngatimaniapoto lands and hand them over to Tawhiao and his people. No Ngatimaniapoto could agree to the partitioning of his ancestral lands in such a manner. The recommendation was all the more disastrous because of the present power of Te Ngakau. Ngatihaua were after all Ngatimaniapoto's fiercest opponents for the ownership of many blocks of land.¹¹ It was to defend himself against their claims that Rewi had first entered the Court. Bryce should not now so easily hand over the lands to the enemy. "Ngatimaniapoto...greatly disapprove of what Bryce said..." reported Grace, "... Rewi says he will never agree

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9. See Waikato Times, 9 December 1882. The actual Ngatimaniapoto agreement was dated 29 November 1882.
 10. W.H. Grace, Diary, 22 November 1882; Waikato Times, 23 November 1882. See also above, p.112.
 11. An example is the Manukatutahi block, one of the five which Rewi had applied to have passed through the Court. Te Ngakau himself had been accused of surveying land there to which he had no right. See Tawhiao's Meeting at Whatiwhatihoe... AJHR, 1882, G-4A, p.8.

to give an acre..."¹²

Wahanui's indignation was as great.¹³ Bryce's high-handedness had alienated him from the start. He was hardly in the mood therefore to respond to the Native Minister's overtures with any enthusiasm. Yet within two weeks of the meeting Bryce, more anxious than ever since his recent rebuff to reach a settlement,¹⁴ made his first approach. "I address you", he wrote on 15 November 1882, "because of Tawhiao's word, that the decision had gone from him to you."¹⁵ The Government, he said, wished to open the King Country, to build roads and railways, to facilitate communication in the colony. If Wahanui were indeed the friend of the Government he could no longer keep his country closed to Europeans, for this was a sign of enmity. Surely he was no enemy? Public works moreover would greatly increase the value of his land, and this was an advantage which he, a great landowner, could not overlook. Bryce then was prepared to help him make the necessary arrangements; they need only decide on a time to meet.¹⁶ These arguments

12. W.H. Grace to J. Howard, 4 November 1882. W.H. Grace, Letterbook, p.319.

13. Ibid.

14. The Main Trunk extension to Te Awamutu, two and a half miles from the Confiscated Boundary, had been opened on 1 July 1880; there it stopped. The settlers were growing ever more impatient at the Government's failure to continue the railway. Cf. Grace's comment that Bryce "knows that if he does not manage to do something more than he has already done that... his Gov^y is bound to go out." W.H. Grace to J. Jones, 19 February 1883, W.H. Grace, Letterbook, p.398.

15. John Bryce to Wahanui, 15 November 1882, Letter produced in evidence by Gabriel Elliott before the Royal Commission on Licensing. Notes of Proceedings, Vol.33, p.4831.

16. Ibid., pp.4831-2.

failed to impress Wahanui. Unmoved by the Native Minister's veiled threats as to the consequences of not co-operating, he replied merely that such matters must be considered by the tribe. He refused to commit himself either to agreement with Bryce, or to a meeting.¹⁷ And when on 5 February 1883 Bryce arrived in Alexandra, Wahanui remained inland and made no attempt to see him.¹⁸

It was less easy, however, to avoid the Mokau chief, Wetere te Rerenga. In December 1882 Wetere arrived at Te Kuiti to meet Rewi and Wahanui and prevailed upon them to interview Bryce the following autumn. He himself would call the crucial meeting and would invite Bryce to be present as the pakeha guest of honour. The subject for discussion was to be the opening of the Ngati-maniapoto lands.¹⁹ Wetere's eagerness to co-operate with the Government is not difficult to understand. Partly, of course, he was influenced by Joshua Jones and his agent, William Grace. "He told me", Grace recorded in his diary, after the Te Kuiti meeting, "that he was acting on my advice and had urged on meeting... the advisability of coming to terms with the Gov^t." ²⁰ Wetere had reason indeed to heed such injunctions. As a suspected murderer

17. Wahanui to John Bryce, 9 December 1882, published in Waikato Times, 23 December 1882. He even refused to write to Bryce himself, and deputed Rewi to do it for him. See W.H. Grace, Diary, 11 December 1882.

18. Waikato Times, 8 February 1883.

19. Grace was ~~the~~ only other pakeha invited. See W.H. Grace to J. Howard, 2 February 1883. W.H. Grace, Letterbook, p.381, and W.H. Grace to J. Jones, 26 June (sic for January) 1883, ibid., pp.371-2. See also Waikato Times, 8 February 1883.

20. W.H. Grace, Diary, 27 December 1882.

he had found that his position, even in the post-war era, was none too secure. The previous August he had gone with Jones to Wellington to consult with Bryce on the very subject of opening up his lands. During his visit Whiteley King, the son of the missionary in whose slaying Wetere was reputed to have been involved,²¹ began proceedings to secure a warrant for his arrest. On appealing to Bryce for support, Te Rerenga was merely advised to leave the capital at once.²² Whether Bryce wished to emphasize the all-pervasiveness of the Queen's law or its impartiality, or whether his motives were less honourable is open to question. But the incident certainly impressed itself on Wetere. "I am most willing to help Mr Bruce", he said, "...but how can I effectually help him if I am liable to be arrested when I enter any European town."²³ The question might more accurately have been transposed. If Wetere were to plead Bryce's cause with the Ngatimaniapoto, how could Bryce continue to persecute him?²⁴

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21. Rev. J. Whiteley was the most prominent victim of the 'White Cliffs' massacre of 1869. Wetere was widely thought to have been its perpetrator, but T.E. Corkill, travelling through the King Country in 1886, concluded after talking with reliable informants, that Wetere, though present at the death "... did all that he well could to prevent it." T.E. Corkill, Through the King Country on Tramp, 1886 (Auckland, 1886), pp. 81-2.
 22. NZPD, Vol. 43, 17 August 1882, p. 385; Waikato Times, 19 August 1882. King later forged a telegram in Wetere's name admitting to the murder, but the forgery was discovered.
 23. See "The Kingites and Mr Bryce", Evening Star, 10 January 1883, cutting in W.H. Grace, Diary, 1882. Grace wrote the article himself.
 24. Cf. the confident tone of his letter to Bryce, 12 December 1882 enclosed in W.G. Morpeth to John Bryce, 22 December 1882, MA 5/14, no. 939.

To Wetera at least the issue seemed not to be in doubt. The same gathering which under his influence agreed to meet Bryce deputed Rewi a week later to write to the Native Minister asking that the newly-passed Amnesty Act be put in force.²⁵ And Ngati-maniapoto had reason to be confident of the result of their application. Their refusal to betray those who had sought asylum behind the aukati had always been a barrier to negotiation.²⁶ While the Government insisted on recognition of British law as a pre-requisite to peace, and insisted on including war crimes as offences against that law, the Kingites had little room for manoeuvre. The passing of the Amnesty Act then had seemed an earnest of the Government's willingness to facilitate their coming to terms. It was therefore with astonishment that Ngatimaniapoto learned of Bryce's reply to their petition. Far from expressing his approval of their enterprise, he answered obliquely that "no man's sins can be forgiven unless he repents truly".²⁷ What, then, replied Rewi in confusion, did he think repentance was? Surely Wetera, the only

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25. W.H. Grace to J. Jones, 26 Jan. 1883, W.H. Grace Letterbook, p.371; Waikato Times, 4 January 1883. The Amnesty Act provided for the granting of amnesty "for all offences of a political character committed during a state of war, or as result of the war." NZPD, Vol.43, 9 September 1882 p.912.
26. The situation had been eased by the capture in June 1882 of Winiata, whose murder of Edwin Packer in Auckland in 1876 had hardly been political. The degrading circumstances in which he was taken- he was tricked over the border, drugged and bound by a half-caste in Government pay- were hardly a credit to the Government. Waikato Times, 29 June and 1 July 1882.
27. Quoted in W.H. Grace to J. Jones, 26 Jan. 1883, W.H. Grace, Letterbook, p.371.

Ngatimaniapoto who would be affected by the Act had shown contrition?²⁸

It was, however, precisely Weterere's remorse which irritated Bryce. Admittedly, it had been none too easy to parley with Ngatimaniapoto while his only advocate among them had been a criminal. For how could he treat on his own lands with a chief whom he should be arresting? And, while Weterere took the initiative, how might he avoid him?²⁹ At the same time, Weterere's dependence on the Amnesty had at least given Bryce a clear advantage over him. He had therefore hoped, it seems, to be able to use the act in his negotiations with Wahanui.³⁰ But Ngatimaniapoto had deprived him of his weapon. No Native Minister could afford to spurn the advances of the Kingites. On 12 February 1883, the day before the Amnesty was officially proclaimed, Bryce met Te Kooti near Kihikihi and told him he might consider himself a free man.³¹ It was a gesture aimed less at its recipient than at Ngatimaniapoto. For at the same time, he telegraphed to Weterere that he intended to travel overland to Mokau.³² The price of the Amnesty, he made it clear, was to be his passage through the King Country.

28. Rewi Maniapoto to John Bryce, 27 January 1883, published in the Waikato Times, 30 January 1883.

29. Bryce had already asked Weterere to use his influence with Wahanui to open the King Country. See W.H. Grace to J. Jones, 26 Jan. 1883, W.H. Grace, Letterbook, p.372.

30. Ibid.

31. Waikato Times, 13 and 15 February 1883. It had been decided only after much discussion to include Te Kooti, the most prominent aukati fugitive, in the Amnesty. It was not a very popular decision.

32. Ibid., 13 February 1883.

The machinations of Wetere and Bryce were, of course, unlikely to achieve anything. Bryce after all, as he soon discovered, was wasting his time. Wetere had already overplayed his hand. Bryce's peremptory announcement that he intended to journey through the Ngatimaniapoto lands filled him with trepidation. The Mokau lands, he replied, might be open to him, but Wetere could not speak for Rewi or for Wahanui. Bryce must wait until after the great meeting on 26 February; it was only at a tribal meeting that such things could be arranged.³³ As it turned out the Mokau meeting had to be postponed because of flooding³⁴ and Bryce was back where he started. For, as Grace pointed out, Wahanui was above political intrigue.³⁵ When Bryce returned early in March to see him, he was polite but unhelpful. He had already impressed on George Wilkinson, the new Native Agent, that while he would be pleased to have a friendly interview with the Native Minister, he was not yet ready to talk business.³⁶

In these circumstances Bryce's untimely attempt to obtain his consent to the journey of surveyors through his lands was doomed to failure. Wahanui was in any case, as he patiently explained to Bryce, powerless to enter into such an agreement. "I told you", he wrote later, "...that it rested with the whole of the people and I also said... don't hurry matters as the tribe have not yet discussed

33. Waikato Times, 13 February 1883.

34. G.T. Wilkinson to John Bryce, 1 March 1883, MA 23/5, N.O. 83/1110.

35. W.H. Grace to J. Jones, 26 Jan. 1883, in W.H. Grace, Letterbook, p.371.

36. G.T. Wilkinson to J. Bryce, 3 March 1883, MA 23/5, N.O. 83/1113.

them."³⁷ Bryce ignored him.³⁸ On the very day of his meeting with Wahanui he wrote to the Government Surveyor instructing him to begin exploration for a suitable railway route through the Ngatimaniapoto lands.³⁹ On 13 March the surveyor, Charles Hursthouse, started out, accompanied by Wilkinson. At Whatiwhatihoe they managed to pass a dozen Kingites who wished them to wait on Tawhiao's decision. But at Otorohanga they were firmly turned back by fifty Ngatimaniapoto. Nor, wrote Wilkinson, did they dare turn to Wahanui; "... we thought it would be only throwing an opportunity in his way to object and possibly obstruct."⁴⁰ Hursthouse, it was clear, could do little without chiefly protection.

Having made his point, Wahanui delayed no longer. Fortunately for Bryce, who might have been hard put to it to carry out his threat to force his way through if necessary,⁴¹ Wahanui had no intention of himself making overt resistance. He was far too concerned for his lands to wish to enrage Bryce. At a Ngatimaniapoto meeting held on 15 March 1883, Wahanui urged them not to stand in Bryce's way. Let Bryce and his pakehas go through, he

37. Wahanui to J. Bryce, 15 March 1883, encl. in G.T. Wilkinson to J. Bryce, 15 March 1883. M.A. 23/5, N.O. 83/1097.

38. Wahanui's consent to the exploration was not, it seems, obtained. See C.W. Hursthouse to Colonel Trimble, 22 May 1884, p.1. Typescript, MS 408, Auckland Institute and Museum.

39. John Bryce to C.W. Hursthouse, 8 March 1883, MA 23/5 N.O. 83/788. It may even have been the day before. Cf. Waikato Times, 10 March 1883.

40. G.T. Wilkinson to Native Minister, 13 March 1883. MA 23/5, N.O. 83/1115.

41. John Bryce to Rewi Maniapoto, 14 March 1883. MA 23/5, N.O. 83/1117.

said; they could do no harm. Only if they were hindered would there be trouble. Ngatimaniapoto should concern themselves not with these pakeha but with the protection of their lands.⁴² The result of this rather unflattering discussion was conveyed to the Native Minister the following day. Wahanui's arguments were, it seems, only partially successful; of Bryce's journey there was, in the Ngatimaniapoto message, no mention. And the surveyor was to keep strictly to the terms of their understanding. "We have agreed to allow your man to go", wrote Ngatimaniapoto, "but let not the hands of your man be spread out."⁴³ Even then, however, after Bryce had reluctantly returned to plead his case at Alexandra, even after his agreement with Ngatimaniapoto had been finally signed,⁴⁴ after Wetere te Rerenga had offered to accompany the surveyors, the path was still not clear. Setting out for the second time on 20 March, Hursthouse had gone only 14 miles beyond Otorohanga when he and his assistant were seized by a party of obstructionists at Te Uira and, despite the protests of their Ngatimaniapoto escort, borne away as prisoners. Nearby at Te Kumi they were kept chained and without food for two days, until Wahanui's rescue party, led by his brother, arrived to release them.⁴⁵

42. Te Reti, Report of meeting of Ngatimaniapoto re Bryce's journey to Mokau, 15 March 1883. MA 23/5, N.O. 83/1143.

43. Wahanui, Manga and others to John Bryce, 16 March 1883. MA 23/5, N.O. 83/1097.

44. See G.T. Wilkinson to Native Minister, 15 March 1883. MA 23/5, N.O. 83/1097, and John Bryce to T.W. Lewis, 16 March 1883, *ibid.*

45. For a graphic account of the episode see C.W. Hursthouse to Colonel Trimble, 22 May 1884. Typescript, MS 408, Auckland Institute and Museum.

Wahanui's part in the episode remains obscure. It is not possible, however, entirely to exonerate him. Hursthouse's captors, the Tekau ma rua ('The Twelve'), were followers of Te Whiti; Te Mahuki, their leader, had been imprisoned after ploughing on the confiscated land at Taranaki.⁴⁶ They had no reason to like Bryce; they despised Wahanui and Te Rerenga for their dealings with him. At a Ngatimaniapoto meeting afterwards held at Te Kuiti, Te Mahuki taunted the chiefs with having been 'bounced' by Bryce, "whom he compared to a pig, and said if he could get his hand on his head he would kick it".⁴⁷ Mahuki believed firmly moreover that he was carrying out God's will, that God could help him not only against Bryce, but in marches on Alexandra and even on Auckland⁴⁸ and, in the end, against his gaolers. "You are right, O judge; your sentence is just", he said at his subsequent trial in Auckland, "but God and Te Whiti have power to save me."⁴⁹ This was not a man to be deflected from his purpose by a mere chiefly prohibition.⁵⁰ Mahuki's men came to the ambush a hundred strong, many of them half naked, wearing war paint and feathers.⁵¹ It was no mere protest.

46. See above, p.83. New Zealand Herald, 9 April 1883.

47. New Zealand Times, 26 March 1883, filed in MA 23/5, N.O. 83/789.

48. Ibid.

49. Te Mahuki's Trial, New Zealand Herald, 7 April 1883. The trial was concluded on 6 April; Te Mahuki was sentenced to a year's hard labour.

50. The more so since the Tekau ma rua's reputed object was to check the chiefs, "who, they say, have caused all the trouble." W.G. Mair to Native Minister, 12 June 1873, AJHR, 1873, G-1, p.22. Their text moreover was Matthew, xxvii,1.

51. G.T. Wilkinson to Native Minister, 21 March 1883. M.A. 23/5, N.O. 83/1121.

They were intent rather on revenge on a hated enemy.

Whether the Tekau ma rua received Wahanui's message conveying his agreement with Bryce is not known;⁵² it would seem in any case to be irrelevant. The question rather is whether Wahanui knew of Mahuki's plan; whether indeed Mahuki, if he did receive a communication, did not return a characteristically defiant answer. Neither possibility can be discounted. "This is one parlor (sic), Te Uira is another", said Aporo, who later participated in Wahanui's expedition, as Hursthouse left the chief's settlement.⁵³ It was the only remark, Hursthouse later said, which aroused his suspicions that all might not be well. It is notable too that neither Weterere nor Wahanui showed any alarm after the capture; no harm, they reiterated, would befall the Europeans; it was only a question of how soon they might be released.⁵⁴

It seems probable in short that Wahanui knew that there might be trouble but that, since the surveyors were escorted, it would not be serious. He may indeed have thought that Mahuki went too

52. Wahanui had asked Bryce for a "few days delay" to send his decision ahead inland. John Bryce to T.W. Lewis, 16 March 1883. MA 23/5, N.O. 83/1097. Subsequently, however, he told Hursthouse that he had sent no message as "our going on this day was the same as our going on the morrow..." C.W. Hursthouse to Colonel Trimble, 22 May 1884. Typescript, MS 408, Auckland Institute and Museum. It is of course possible that he changed his mind.

53. Statement of C.W. Hursthouse at Te Mahuki's trial, New Zealand Times, 28 March 1883, filed in MA 23/5, N.O. 83/789. He meant, of course, that although the way was open thus far, it might not be further ahead.

54. G.T. Wilkinson to Native Minister, 21 March 1883. MA 23/5, N.O. 83/1121.

far; the ill-treatment of the pakeha, he explained to Bryce later, had greatly upset him.⁵⁵ But he refused to regard the incident in the same grave light as did Bryce. He refused to accede to Bryce's request to arrest the ring-leaders. "Do not be troubled about the doings of the Twelve", he wrote to the Native Minister. "I will deal carefully with this."⁵⁶ The culprits were Ngatimaniapoto; it was his business to deal with them, and Bryce must not interfere. Bryce, ignoring the fact that the surveyors had been mere guests in Wahanui's domains, was irritated in the extreme. He had only left it for Wahanui to make suitable atonement, he explained, not to decide whether atonement was necessary.⁵⁷ But Wahanui was adamant. "I have endeavoured to carry out the law by arresting those people", wrote the anxious Wetera te Rerenga to Bryce, "but the majority of the people are carrying out Wahanui's policy and I have been unable to do so."⁵⁸ The situation was saved only by Te Mahuki himself who, with twenty followers, suddenly descended upon Alexandra, where the Te Awamutu cavalry were waiting to arrest him.⁵⁹

The capture of Mahuki was, then, but a pyrrhic victory for Bryce. He might have cowed the 'prophet', but on Wahanui he had made no impression. He had failed to undermine Wahanui's authority,

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55. Wahanui to J. Bryce, encl. in Captain Gascoigne to Bryce, 24 March 1883. MA 23/5, N.O. 83/1125.
 56. Ibid.
 57. J. Bryce to G.T. Wilkinson, 23 March 1883. MA 23/5, N.O. 83/1124.
 58. Wetera te Rerenga to Bryce, 25 March 1883. MA 23/5, N.O. 83/1130.
 59. New Zealand Times, 26 March 1883, filed in MA 23/5, N.O. 83/789. Bryce called out the Cavalry himself. See Bryce to W. Rolleston, 24 March 1883. Rolleston Papers, **6**, 1882-4.

had failed utterly to convince Ngatimaniapoto that the coming of the surveyors signalled the advent of the supremacy of pakeha law and government. Whether Wahanui would have defied Bryce to the end is difficult to determine; certainly, however, up till the time of Mahuki's departure for Alexandra, he had shown no sign of yielding. Wahanui was afraid for his lands, but he did not fear Bryce. He found his methods distasteful and his impatience quite intolerable. And he may well have thought that a further demonstration of the drawbacks of haste would do Bryce no harm. "You have done a grand thing, Mr Bryce; have you not?" he wrote. "Oh, my friend, cease, cease! Settle yourself down, and let us have time so that our minds may be settled, and it will be settled."⁶⁰ But the Native Minister, still smarting from his last defeat, found it difficult to take such advice. He had already determined to make a last effort. He would go through the King Country himself.⁶¹

Bryce's journey was, in the eyes of the settlers, a great success. Leaving Alexandra on 16 April 1883, accompanied by Wetere te Rerenga and the two unfortunate surveyors, he travelled uneventfully through the heart of the aukati lands, arriving a few days later at Waitara. The entire population turned out to cheer him, and he entered the town under a triumphal arch lit with Chinese lanterns. At Waitara and New Plymouth he was presented with

60. Manifesto from Wahanui, 5 April 1883. Published in the New Zealand Herald, 11 April 1883.

61. Waikato Times, 10 April 1883.

addresses, and banquets were held in his honour.⁶² Nor were these celebrations, Bryce assured them, in vain. The King Country, he said, was now open to Europeans; surveys, roads and railways would meet with no further obstruction. Ngatimaniapoto and he were one.⁶³ In Bryce's triumphant speech, however, the worst fears of Ngatimaniapoto were realized. He had endowed his journey, despite all their warnings, with a significance which it had not had. He went, after all, uninvited; his only supporter was the grateful Wetere.⁶⁴ Though he had urged the Ngatimaniapoto not to impede the Native Minister, Wahanui had given him no encouragement. When Bryce had stopped on his way at Te Kuiti, he had made no speech of welcome. And Taonui, the powerful inland chief, had pointedly advised him against the ride. "Friend, send Mr Hursthouse..." he had written, "do you remain away."⁶⁵ Ngatimaniapoto were prepared to accept the railway survey- for this they had signed an agreement- but nothing more. In Bryce's wake, they feared, would come prospectors and surveyors, and hordes of intruding Europeans.⁶⁶ Such a prospect was alarming enough. But Ngatimaniapoto saw in Bryce's enterprise a far greater danger. He would assume, they suspected, that in travelling through their lands he had acquired an authority over them. And it was not so much a potential influx of pakeha

62. 'Mr Bryce Through the King Country', New Zealand Times, 21 April 1883, filed in MA 23/5, N.O. 83/1022.

63. Ibid. See also Waikato Times, 26 April 1883.

64. New Zealand Herald, 14 April 1883.

65. Taonui to Bryce, 9 April 1883. MA 23/5, N.O. 83/1154.

66. New Zealand Times, 21 April 1883, filed in MA 23/5, N.O. 83/1022.

which they found upsetting as Bryce's assumption of the right to allow them entry. "...go on your journey", Taonui said to Bryce at Te Kuiti, "but as you go, do not look to the right, or to the left, or behind... There is nothing for you to consider on the road."⁶⁷ Ngatimaniapoto would receive Bryce as a visitor, would wish him a pleasant trip to Taranaki. But it was to them nothing more. And Bryce's efforts to make it more meaningful could meet, they cautioned, with no success. They themselves were making careful provision for their lands, and they were determined that Bryce should not forestall them.

The Ngatimaniapoto chiefs had of course already realized that their lands were in imminent danger; that their enemies moreover were legion. There were, first, the new land companies: the East Coast Company, now spreading its activities into the King Country; the English Native Lands Company, and the active Auckland Native Lands Colonisation Company.⁶⁸ Their agents, by the beginning of 1883, were ubiquitous. And it was impossible for Ngatimaniapoto to avoid them. Spurned by one tribe, the land sharks merely turned to another. And it was as the allies of the hated Ngatihaua that they became most dangerous. In February 1883,

67. New Zealand Herald, 23 April 1883.

68. In the East Coast Company the Maoris who handed over their lands to be disposed of were also shareholders. In 1882, it was decided to relocate the Company's headquarters in Auckland and expand its operations (largely into the King Country), and a powerful Auckland company was formed for the purpose— though evidently the old Auckland speculators remained outside it. At the same time, as a result of Taiwhanga's visit to England (see below, pp.158-9), the Bishop of London headed a new venture (to run on the same principle); Judge Fenton became its N.Z. manager.

for instance, some Ngatihaua, won over by the Auckland land company's agent, travelled with him to Auckland to make plans for the survey of a large block of land south of Kihikihi.⁶⁹ Quick to take advantage of their application, Bryce immediately dispatched Lawrence Cussen to make a trigonometrical survey in the King Country. But on this occasion at least, he had to admit total defeat. In the face of Wahanui's opposition he had not the nerve to proceed; before he left Te Kuiti in April, he agreed to withdraw the surveyors.⁷⁰ The lesson had not, however, been lost on Ngatimaniapoto. Ngatihaua activity made them distinctly nervous. As early as January 1883 Grace reported a new attitude among Ngatimaniapoto towards the Land Court. A number of them, he said, had left with them their genealogies and a list of boundaries of some of their blocks. When the time came, they promised, he might submit their applications to the Court.⁷¹ But Ngatihaua intrigues, to Grace's delight, seemed likely to hasten on the hour: "They are now beginning to see that the only way [to] secure themselves is to get the land passed through the Native Lands Court (sic)", he wrote to Joseph Howard, "and you may be sure that I rub this idea well into their heads."⁷²

Even the Land Court, however, proved a poor defence for the

69. Waikato Times, 27 February 1883; W.H. Grace to J. Howard, 9 February 1883, W.H. Grace, Letterbook, pp.388-9.

70. Wahanui, Manga and others to J. Bryce, 16 March 1883. MA 23/5, N.O. 83/1097; Bryce to Wahanui, draft, 10 October 1883, MA 13/43, N.O. 83/3200. See also Waikato Times, 1 December 1883.

71. W.H. Grace to J. Howard, 2 February 1883. W.H. Grace, Letterbook, pp.379-80.

72. W.H. Grace to J. Howard, 9 February 1883, *ibid.*, p.388.

lands. The Ngatimaniapoto chiefs had watched the Court in action at Mokau and were dismayed. Wahanui had applied to have the lands made inalienable, and was defeated. The Mokau men had saved some of their lands only by withdrawing them from the Court.⁷³ They were amazed at the cost, and at the way in which expenses were arbitrarily charged against lands passing through the Court.⁷⁴ Rewi had been horrified to find his mana trampled on; though his evidence was essential to the Ngatimaniapoto case, though he himself had handed over the lands to Ngatitama, he had been summarily reminded that he had only an inferior interest in the lands. The Court, he was told, would recognize only his part in the conquest of Mokau; his chiefly authority did not interest them at all.⁷⁵ Clearly, the Land Court did not deserve Ngatimaniapoto patronage. An institution which parted them from their lands rather than confirmed their ownership, which sneered at the rights of chiefs, could be of no assistance. It remained, however, the only possibility. The interference of the land companies, of Ngatihaua, and now of the Government left Ngatimaniapoto no choice. "Behold a kite... flies towards you, bearing you these two things- the Government for one, the lawyers

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73. Waikato Times, 17 June 1882. Bryce, it seems, took advantage of the application to try and tie up the land for his own purposes, a move which again frightened Ngatimaniapoto; it was defeated by Grace. See Joshua Jones to J. Ballance, 24 August 1885. MA 13/93, N.O. 85/3238; W.H. Grace to J. Jones, 19 February 1883. W.H. Grace, Letterbook, pp.396-8.
74. Petition of the Maniapoto, Raukawa, Tuwharetoa, and Whanganui Tribes, Laid before House 26 June 1883, printed in AJHR, 1883, J-1.
75. Waikato Times, 24 June 1882.

for another", proclaimed Wahanui. "The first goads, and the latter devours men."⁷⁶ But he was determined that he should not be swallowed by the Court: "... if we suffer we shall have brought the suffering on ourselves." Ngatimaniapoto must save themselves; they must now ask Parliament to improve the laws.⁷⁷

The Ngatimaniapoto petition was not a success. It achieved, it is true, some minor victories. It was brought to the attention of Parliament, for instance, with amazing speed. Dispatched to Wellington on 18 June 1883, it was read before the House a week later. Bryce brought down his remedial legislation within a month, and posted copies of the bills to the Ngatimaniapoto chiefs by the first mail north.⁷⁸ His two bills were aimed at dealing with all aspects of the Ngatimaniapoto petition. The Native Committees Bill⁷⁹ provided for the setting up of district committees which might adjudicate in petty disputes, report on boundary conflicts and on the names of owners in blocks being passed through the Court. The Native Lands Amendment Bill⁸⁰ attacked the specific grievances which Ngatimaniapoto had presented. It excluded

76. Manifesto from Wahanui, 5 April 1883, published in New Zealand Herald, 11 April 1883.

77. Speech of Wahanui, at Meeting of Ngatimaniapoto re Bryce's journey to Mokau. Te Reti to Bryce, 15 March 1883, MA 23/5, N.O. 83/1143. See also Wahanui, Manga and others to John Bryce, 16 March 1883, MA 23/5, N.O. 83/1097.

78. New Zealand Herald, 31 July 1883. It is notable that a large meeting of the Auckland Chamber of Commerce agreed on 13 June 1883 to urge Auckland M.H.R.s to press the Government to complete immediately the Te Awamutu-Taranaki section of the Main Trunk Railway. Waikato Times, 14 June 1883.

79. See "The Native Committees Act, 1883", 47 [Vict.], 1883, No. 19. The Statutes of New Zealand, 1883.

80. See "The Native Land Laws Amendment Act", 47 [Vict.], 1883, No.20. Ibid.

lawyers from the Court, whose litigation, the Maoris protested, deliberately prolonged cases and increased their costs. More important, it outlawed the iniquitous system of advances made on lands before they reached the Court- a practice heavily relied on by land agents to ensure early possession. Infringement of the new law, too, was to be strictly penalized; it made provision not only for a heavy fine, but for the nullification of any such transaction. Finally, it carried Bryce's threat that if it proved to be ineffectual, the Government would have no alternative but to re-introduce the following year a system of Crown pre-emption.⁸¹

Within the existing system of settling the title to Maori land, these were indeed positive advances. But they fell far short of satisfying the requests of Ngatimaniapoto. Wahanui had sought not a mere reform of the system but an entirely new method of dealing with the lands. His whole petition had been based on the essential innovation that the Maoris themselves were to manage their lands.⁸² In the preparation of the petition they had already taken the first steps. The boundaries of the signatory tribes had been carefully marked by representatives selected by the different hapu.⁸³ But this was only a beginning. When they had made their

81. NZPD, Vol.45, 9 August 1883, p.460. For the settler reaction to Bryce's speech, see New Zealand Herald, 2 August 1883.

82. This was, of course, a long-standing Maori demand; among thoughtful Maoris the Native Land Court had never had many supporters.

83. Wahanui to [the Editor], n.d., New Zealand Herald, 23 July 1883. Boundary pegging had been started under Taonui's supervision at least as early as February 1883 as a result,

petition, Wahanui exhorted his tribe, they "should select a certain number of people to administer the land, those people should be authorized by the tribes, they to have charge of the land and laws relating to it."⁸⁴ They themselves were to determine not only the tribal and hapu boundaries, but within these the share of each individual. Their completed arrangements might then be confirmed "in accordance with law" by government representatives. But the pakeha Court was to exercise its power over their lands no more.⁸⁵

In Wellington the Ngatimaniapoto proposals were ignored. In vain the chiefs assured the Government that their most fervent wish was to aid the progress of the North Island; that they had no desire to exclude the pakeha from their land. In vain they conceded even the pakeha notion of individual holding of land and outlined a system whereby individual allotments might be leased to Europeans. The pakeha, they said, were welcome to use as much Ngatimaniapoto land as they liked, if only the land were not lost to the tribe. For Ngatimaniapoto were concerned above all with the retention of their lands. Henceforth, they maintained, there were to be no more sales. With touching trust, they had asked "that Parliament will pass a law to secure our lands to us and our descendants for ever, making

it would seem, of Ngatimaniapoto re-definition of Rewi's original survey plan. See G.T. Wilkinson to J. Bryce, 1 March 1883. MA 23/5, N.O. 83/1110; and Waikato Times, 29 August 1882.

84. Speech of Wahanui at Meeting of Ngatimaniapoto re Bryce's journey to Mokau. Te Reti to Bryce, 15 March 1883. MA 23/5, N.O. 83/1143.

85. Petition of the Maniapoto, Raukawa, Tuwharetoa, and Whanganui Tribes, Laid before House 26 June 1883, Printed in AJHR, 1883, J-1.

them absolutely inalienable by sale."⁸⁶ But no such law was drawn up. No notice was taken either of their request that they be allowed to manage their lands themselves. The native committees soon proved incompetent to adjudicate on land titles.⁸⁷ Neither of the Government bills, as Wahanui was quick to point out, guaranteed their boundaries. And the Land Court survived with all its powers intact. The Ngatimaniapoto petition had achieved nothing.

Their defeat was to prove costly. In November 1883, armed with his list of reforms, Bryce returned to the fray. Ngatimaniapoto made a last attempt to evade him. Rewi, whom Bryce approached first, refused to talk unless Wahanui was present. Nor would he write to Wahanui asking him to come; Bryce had in the end to do it himself.⁸⁸ Wahanui sent a verbal reply "that he would come and might be expected by Bryce either on Friday Saturday Sunday, Monday, or Tuesday in fact any day after (sic)."⁸⁹ His second message was more direct. He would not be coming, he said, because his cousin was sick.⁹⁰ But Bryce was immune to such insults. Ngatimaniapoto,

86. Petition of the Maniapoto, Raukawa, Tuwharetoa, and Whanganui Tribes, Laid before House 26 June 1883, printed in AJHR, 1883, J-1. See also Rewi Maniapoto to Sir George Grey, 23 April 1883, Grey Collection, Maori Letters, 1-320, No.3, G.197; and Wahanui to George Grey, 11 June 1883, *ibid.*, G.247.

87. Cf. the speech of John Ormsby at the Ngatimaniapoto meeting with John Ballance, 4 February 1885. Further Correspondence respecting Memorial brought to this country by certain Maori chiefs in 1884. G.B. Command Paper [G.4492], No.2, Encl.2, pp.21-3.

88. W.H. Grace to J. Howard, 24 November 1883. W.H. Grace, Letter-book, pp.552-3. See also Waikato Times, 20 November 1883.

89. W.H. Grace to J. Howard, 24 November 1883, W.H. Grace, Letter-book, p.553.

90. *Ibid.*

he knew, could prevaricate no longer. On 30 November he returned to Kihikihi,⁹¹ where the Ngatimaniapoto chiefs were assembled to meet him. He had helped them, he said, as he had promised. Now they in their turn must co-operate. If they refused, the Court would be held in any case, since the demands of other interested tribes would force him to act.⁹² The chiefs, their objections over-ruled, their arguments exhausted, gave in. Wahanui, hoping that he might yet keep his lands, insisted that they pay for the survey themselves; surely then, the pakehas could have no pretext for seizing land in payment. But Bryce had won. On 1 December 1883 Rewi, Wahanui, and Taonui signed the application for the survey of their external boundaries.⁹³

For Ngatimaniapoto and Waikato alike it was a tragic decision. Ngatimaniapoto had sought the help of the Government only to confirm their authority over their lands. They had succeeded instead in taking the first step towards their eventual transference to the pakeha. They had wanted to avoid any admission of Government sovereignty over the land; they had been forced nevertheless to recognize it. Yet it was not, as the Government thought, the sway of the King which was thus supplanted. The signatures on the Land Court application represented only the formalization of a dissociation which had occurred the previous year. But for the coming of the Land

91. He had returned to Auckland on 21 November to wait until Wahanui should emerge.

92. Waikato Times, 1 December 1883. Cf. Bryce to Wahanui, draft, 10 October 1883, MA 13/43, N.O. 83/3200.

93. Waikato Times, 4 December 1883. Wilkinson estimated the amount of land included in the application at 3,500,000 acres.

Court it might indeed have been no more than that. In surrendering control over their lands to the new jurisdiction, however, the Ngatimaniapoto struck with a dreadful finality not merely at the King's authority, but at everything the King movement stood for. It was perhaps the saddest, most involuntary secession in the history of the movement.

Tawhiao accepted their resignation with dignity. They should stop their present work, he said. But he was in no way concerned by the doings of Ngatimaniapoto. He himself would persist with his own policy which he knew was right.⁹⁴ It is unlikely, however, that he did not sympathise with Ngatimaniapoto in their plight. For he in his turn was a victim of Bryce's forward policy. On the evening of 2 February 1883 the Government steamer Stella had dropped anchor in Kawhia harbour. Next morning, under the watchful eye of the Native Minister, a party of surveyors began to lay out a township. The master of the vessel, Captain Fairchild, meanwhile marked the channel with buoys and for the first time rendered the harbour safely navigable to European ships.⁹⁵ The pakeha had established himself in the last Waikato stronghold.

Tawhiao was bewildered. It was an intrusion he had never imagined would be possible. He had of course been notified some two months earlier of the Government's intentions.⁹⁶ But he could

94. Waikato Times, 22 December 1883.

95. John Bryce to Harry Atkinson, 6 February 1883, MA 23/3, N.O. 83/797.

96. John Bryce to Tawhiao, 6 December 1882. MA 23/3, N.O. 82/3637.

not understand how the Government had suddenly been able to ensconce itself on what he had always regarded as his own lands. And, indeed, though the township was indisputably founded on Crown land, the means by which the Maori title was extinguished remain doubtful. The land, a block named Pouewe, had been acquired by a European in a pre-Wai-tangi deal to which only one Maori had been party. There was no Crown grant, nor so far as the local Maoris were aware had the land ever been alienated. Pouewe had subsequently been occupied by a trader named Charlton, who in 1850 had applied for a grant. No grant was issued, however, until 1864 when the land was made over, again without the knowledge of the Maoris, to Charlton's widow, a proceeding which must in retrospect have seemed to them unintelligible, since the Charltons had been driven off their lands during the wars. Whether even a legal survey of the land had been made is impossible to determine. The Government affirmed that a surveyor had handed in a plan at the hearing, though they themselves never produced it. Te Wheoro on the other hand subsequently maintained that the Maoris knew nothing of such a survey, and it seems unlikely that the activities of a surveyor at Kawhia twenty years previously would have gone unnoticed.⁹⁷

It was, then, from Charlton's son, a mortgagee at that, that the Government had purchased Pouewe.⁹⁸ Perhaps, as Grey asserted,

97. On all this see NZPD, Vol.46, 30 August 1883, p.371.

98. The date of the purchase remains uncertain; it would seem to have been completed, however, somewhere between the end of 1880 and mid-1881. See John Bryce, Memo. on the Opening of Kawhia Harbour, 16 October 1883, AJHR, 1884, G-1.

it should have been willing, now that possession seemed assured, to reinstate the previous owner on the land. But even had Charlton's case seemed more deserving,⁹⁹ the Government would have been in no mood to indulge in such a magnanimous gesture. It had long been trying to purchase land at Kawhia¹⁰⁰ and was accordingly loath to let the opportunity pass. However that may be, it is impossible to impute the Government's anxiety to acquire Pouewe to entirely honourable motives. Kawhia, it is true, enjoyed a reputation as an excellent port. Nothing was known, however, either of the depth of its channel or of the quality of the land which had been bought. "I had heard that the piece of gov^t land was very broken", wrote Bryce after his arrival at Kawhia, "but it is not nearly as much so as I expected to find. It is very suitable for a township..."¹⁰¹ But was it a suitable place for a town at all? Isolated by steep uplands from the Waikato, it was to the inland settlers a rather less obvious outlet to the sea than was Auckland.¹⁰² The Government ignored the question as to how, lacking as it did any rural lands, the new township was to support itself.¹⁰³ The Waikato Times, bemoaning the unsuitability of the land for agriculture, suggested that 'native

99. His financial difficulties were evidently not the result of his misfortunes at Kawhia. See NZPD, Vol.46, 22 August 1883, pp.154-5.

100. John Bryce, Memo... 16 October 1883, AJHR, 1884, G-1.

101. John Bryce to Harry Atkinson, 6 February 1883. MA 23/3, N.O. 83/797.

102. It still is. Kawhia today is a seaside holiday resort with a wharf large enough to accommodate fishing launches.

103. The question was raised in the House by Thomas Kelly but left unanswered. NZPD, Vol.46, 22 August 1883, p.155.

trade' might provide a livelihood.¹⁰⁴ It seems difficult, in short, to avoid the conclusion that the Government was less interested in founding a new settlement than in striking a forceful, even a definitive blow against Tawhiao's power. Tawhiao and his chiefs correctly assumed, Bryce later reported, that the occupation of the township of Kawhia without Tawhiao's permission was "... an assertion of the Sovereign rights of the Queen without any recognition of the pretensions (sic) of the Maori potentate."¹⁰⁵

But Bryce was wrong. Obsessed with the idea of suppressing what he regarded as an 'unlawful combination', he had failed utterly to understand the Kingite reaction to his landing at Kawhia. Of all the harbours of the north, Kawhia was dearest to the King's heart. "There were other harbours he [Tawhiao] might claim", Tawhiao later explained to Bryce, "there was Kaipara, there was Manukau, there were others; but Kawhia was the last, and could it not be left to him- to him alone?"¹⁰⁶ As the landing place of his canoe, Kawhia had for him a special significance. It was, too, a favourite retreat where the King was accustomed to spend much of his time. At Kawhia he had been safe from the importunities of the pakeha. And he had hoped, not without reason, that here he would always find

104. Waikato Times, 7 December 1882. See also *ibid.*, 12 September 1882.

105. John Bryce, Memo... 16 October 1883, AJHR, 1884, G-1. Cf. G.A. Arney's comment that Tawhiao's exclusive control of Kawhia "forms perhaps the most real, if not the only symbol of true sovereignty held by Tawhiao." Arney to Kimberley, 10 April 1873, AJHR, 1873, A-1A, No.11.

106. John Bryce, Memo... 16 October 1883, AJHR, 1884, G-1.

sanctuary. For at Kawhia were the last of the Ngatimahuta lands. Tawhiao could live there not only in security but, it had seemed, unhampered by pakeha law. The Kawhia lands were his own; they were under not only his kingly mana, but his own chiefly authority. It was for him therefore to decide when the pakeha might come; when, too, the harbour might be opened to him. "Friend let me have the control of Kawhia, leave it to me to make arrangements concerning it." ¹⁰⁷ But Bryce ignored him, and the King was powerless.

The opening up of Kawhia, then, went virtually unopposed. One of Tawhiao's wives, who was present when Bryce's party landed, reminded them that a toll was needed "for the privilege of dropping anchor in Kawhia; this was the custom of her ancestors..." But Bryce ostentatiously refused to pay. ¹⁰⁸ For the rest, Ngatimahuta showed their feelings only by remaining away. ¹⁰⁹ The streets of the new township were accordingly laid out without incident. At the end of June there was a large and angry Kingite meeting when surveyors working on the Aotea-Kawhia road threatened to encroach on Maori land. A party led by two Ngatimahuta chiefs pulled up their survey pegs and warned the men to proceed no further. But the affair quickly blew over. Funds for the work were exhausted and the road was for the time being left

107. Tawhiao to Bryce, 16 December 1882. MA 23/3, N.O. 83/36.

108. Elizabeth Rolleston, Diary, February-March 1883, p.7.

Transcription, MS 1883 P, Alexander Turnbull Library.

William Rolleston and his family accompanied Bryce on his mission.

109. It was reported that the King wrote to them to this effect.

Waikato Times, 6 February 1883.

unfinished.¹¹⁰ Even in September, when beacons were installed in the harbour, infuriated Ngatimahuta made little enough overt protest; though the beacons were destroyed within two days of their erection, the buoys and survey pegs were left undamaged.¹¹¹ Nor was there any repetition of the incident. Bryce himself travelled to Kawhia to impress on Tawhiao the very grave light in which the Government viewed the matter. Before he left, he established on the coast a new camp of the Armed Constabulary, 114 strong.¹¹² Ngatimahuta resistance, clearly, was at an end.

To the Waikato, Bryce's proceedings at Kawhia seemed to epitomise all their dealings with the Government. The land was acquired by underhand methods which they could not fathom. Once the pakeha had gained a foothold, he used it only as a base for the acquisition of more land. He began to build roads, irrespective of whose property they traversed, and said he needed access to his land. He interfered with harbours, though the Maoris had been guaranteed their fisheries, and said his shipping must have safe passage. When the Maoris defended their rights they were threatened with condign punishment for breaking the law, and finally subdued by force. In the end, they lost their land. It seemed now only a matter of time before the Kawhia lands too would be swallowed

110. Waikato Times, 30 June 1883 and 5 and 6 July 1883. See also John Bryce, Memo... 16 October 1883, AJHR, 1884, G-1.

111. Waikato Times, 24 September 1883.

112. See John Bryce, Memo... 16 October 1883, AJHR, 1884, G-1; also H.E. Reader, Annual Report on New Zealand Constabulary, 31 May 1884, AJHR, 1884, H-1.

up.

And indeed they had not long to wait. In August 1883 a section of the kupapa Ngatihikairo resident at Kawhia had petitioned the Government for help in dealing with their lands.¹¹³ Their request, it seems, at first went unanswered, probably because their land fell within the Ngatimaniapoto boundary. But in November they tried again¹¹⁴ and this time Bryce, his success with Ngatimaniapoto assured, was quick to offer them assistance. His negotiations at Kihikihi finished, he set off for Kawhia to meet the coastal tribes. On 5 December the chiefs of Ngatihikairo, already committed to a policy of leasing and opening the country,¹¹⁵ signed an application for the survey of the Kawhia lands.¹¹⁶

For Tawhiao and his people the moment of crisis had arrived. Beside the dangers which menaced Kawhia, even the loss of the Ngatimaniapoto lands paled into insignificance. Ngatimaniapoto at least had enjoyed the possibility of escape. But for Ngatimahuta there was no hope. Ngatimaniapoto might succumb to the Court, might surrender their lands to the Government, might in safety even leave the King. They would weaken, but would not destroy him. If Ngatimahuta attended the Court, the King could be no more. If

113. Petition of Hone Wetere and Others. AJHR, 1883, I-2, No.488.

114. Waikato Times, 3 November 1883.

115. Petition of Hone Wetere... AJHR, 1883, I-2, No.488. See also Waikato Times, 1 November 1883.

116. Waikato Times; 11 December 1883. At the last, it seems, they were a little nervous of proceeding in Tawhiao's absence, but Bryce overruled their objections.

Tawhiao ceded Kawhia to the Government, he lost at once his lands and his authority. He acknowledged the existence in his territory of a power which automatically extinguished his own. By itself, the Ngatimaniapoto defection could be surmounted; in conjunction with the effrontery of Ngatihikairo it became crippling. To forfeit both the Rohe Potae and Kawhia was to lose the landed basis for his power, to lose even the dignity of a ruling seat. But to try to retain Kawhia by the only means which the Government offered was in any case to relinquish his authority over the Waikato tribes. And this was beyond Tawhiao's capacity. Even for the sake of his ancestral lands, he might not give up his kingship. His dilemma in short was appalling. From the Government, itself responsible for his predicament, he could expect no assistance.¹¹⁷ There remained only one possibility. He must seek justice and recognition of his authority from the Queen of England.

117. His previous petition to Parliament, affirming that the lands claimed in their petition by Ngatimaniapoto were in fact Potatau's had been ignored. See Petition of Manuhiri and 488 Others of the Maniapoto and Waikato Tribes, Laid before the House 21 August 1883. Printed in AJHR, 1883, J-1A, No.1.

Chapter VII

The English Mission

The idea of an English mission was not new. In 1882 a party of Ngapuhi chiefs, headed by the infamous Hirini Taiwhanga,¹ had taken to London a petition complaining of settler breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi.² Unaccustomed to dealing with tribal delegations from a constitutionally responsible colony, the Colonial Office indulged in endless debates as to what should be done with the deputation and their memorial and, more important, whether or not the Queen should see them. After several weeks they came ponderously to the conclusion that there could be no royal audience.³ Instead, Hirini had a brisk interview with the Secretary of State who told him bluntly that his requests could not be dealt with

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1. Though a man of no birth, Taiwhanga was educated, eloquent in both English and Maori, self-assured, opportunistic to the highest degree. Appointed a licensed surveyor in 1872, he was suspended for fraudulence. He then established a school from which he was often absent, and attempted to obtain government allowances for four times as many children as attended; in 1879 Government closed the school. He was always hopeful that the Government would pay his debts; when he went to England he left his family destitute. He had stood unsuccessfully for Parliament in every election since 1871. See T.W. Lewis, Memo. for the Premier, 26 September 1882. MA 23/1, N.O. 82/3033.
 2. See Kimberley to Sir A.Gordon, 8 August 1882. AJHR, 1883, A-6, No.1, Encl.1: It is doubtful how far the petition was representative of Ngapuhi sentiments. Hirini evidently drew it up himself, and his fare was paid by an old Ngapuhi chief, who also sent his grandson with Hirini. At the same time, there was plenty of scope for political agitation in the North. See F.E. Maning to T.W. Lewis, nd. [October 1882?], a copy of which is in the Auckland Public Library, NZ Mss. 333.0995d, No.18.
 3. On all this see Colonial Office minutes on Aborigines' Protection Society to Kimberley, 6 July, 24 July, 1 August, and 14 August 1882, CO 209/241.

in England; they fell within the province of the New Zealand Government, which alone was competent to govern the Maoris.⁴

The journey was, however, not entirely without profit. Hirini's petition aroused in England a great deal of interest and sympathy. One group of English M.P.'s sent him back to discuss with his tribe proposals for the formation of a company which would dispose of native lands with profit to both the shareholders and the Maoris.⁵ More significant was the suggestion of a party which Hirini later identified vaguely as "the Members of the Upper House of the British Parliament" that he get up a further petition to be signed by the Maoris and endorsed by the Governor and his Ministers which might then be presented to the British Government.⁶

Taiwhanga put the two proposals to a Ngapuhi tribal meeting held on 8 December 1882, soon after his return. The land company was turned down forthwith. But the idea of the new memorial was received with acclaim. It was decided that a petition should be

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4. For an account of the interview see Kimberley to Sir A. Gordon, 8 August 1882. AJHR, 1883, A-6, No.1, Encl.2.
 5. See above, p.142. The group was headed by the Bishop of London and James Cropper, M.P. for Kendall, and included seven M.P.'s and Dr H.P. Liddon, Canon of St. Paul's. For an outline of the scheme see James Cropper and others to Kimberley, 2 August 1882, printed in AJHR, 1884, Sess.1, G-2, No.1, Encl.1.
 6. See Hone Mohi Tawhai to Native Minister, 10 January 1883. MA 23/1, N.O. 83/204. It seems probable that the suggestion was made by the clergymen with whom Hirini came into contact: the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Bedford, members of the Aborigines' Protection Society which was host to the Maoris. See The Aborigines' Friend, No.14, New Series, October 1882, pp. 510-17.

circulated during the coming year throughout New Zealand. When the lists closed the following December three chiefs would carry the petition to England. Nearly £3,000 were to be raised to defray their expenses. Such indeed was their enthusiasm that Ngapuhi raised £600 in the next three weeks.⁷ The new petition was drawn up by April 1883 and printed by the tribe on their own press.⁸ In May the magistrate at Hokianga reported that large gatherings were being held monthly in his district at which land questions and "the much-talked-of Treaty of Waitangi" were discussed.⁹ The following month Ngatiporou were planning an intertribal meeting at Waiapu where general questions affecting the Maoris were to be discussed. "The meeting", wrote the magistrate, "...has reference to a movement instituted by Ngapuhi, bearing on the Treaty of Waitangi."¹⁰ Taiwhanga, meanwhile, was canvassing farther south. In April, for instance, he arrived with eighty-four followers to open the campaign at Wanganui.¹¹ In July, after passing through Ahuriri and Gisborne, he was at Napier; and in August, now with 8,000 signatures to his credit, he went to Alexandra to see the

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7. Hone Mohi Tawhai to Native Minister, 10 January 1883. MA 23/1, N.O. 83/204.
 8. J.H. Greenway to Under Secretary, Native Office, 5 December 1883, MA 23/1, N.O. 83/3793. A printed copy of the petition, dated 7 April 1883, is in the Grey Collection: GNZM, 667a. It was based on the complaint that the Treaty of Waitangi had been broken, and included objections to the Native Land Court, improper land purchases, confiscations, and the imprisonment of Te Whiti.
 9. S. von Sturmer to Under Secretary, Native Department, 26 May 1883. AJHR, 1883, G-1A, No.2.
 10. J. Booth to Under Secretary, Native Department, 13 June 1883, *ibid.*, No.7, Encl.
 11. Waikato Times, 5 April 1883.

King. ¹²

It is, of course, difficult to tell whether Taiwhanga had at this stage decided to ask Tawhiao to join his expedition. But it seems probable that his eagerness to meet Tawhiao in person stemmed from more than a simple desire to augment his funds. Financial support for his mission, it is true, seems to have been rather less than he had hoped.¹³ But there was a more important reason for his wishing to gain Tawhiao's help. Since he had left England, more had become known there about Hirini's background- to the considerable embarrassment, it may be added, of his erstwhile hosts, the Aborigines' Protection Society- and numbers of Taiwhanga's former sympathizers had evidently written to him regretting their inability to assist him further.¹⁴ Well aware of the reason for this sudden withdrawal of support, Taiwhanga realized that his plan would need a more illustrious patronage if he were to succeed in England. And Tawhiao, it seemed, who had at his disposal the resources of half

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12. New Zealand Herald, 26 July 1883; Te Korimako, 15 August 1883, No.18, p.4. He had in the meantime been arrested on a charge of wife desertion.
13. On his return from the southern tour he was found to have £28.19.9d. New Zealand Herald, 25 July 1883.
14. Ibid., 10 July 1883. The New Zealand Times, in its Summary /of New Zealand News/for the Month, October 1882, had been very scathing at the expense of Hirini's English supporters. See extracts in Prendergast to Kimberley, 7 October 1882, CO 209/241. A damaging paper by Sir William Fox had also been read at the Royal Colonial Institute on 23 January 1883. See encl. in F.D. Bell to the Premier, 7 February 1883, MA 23/1, N.O. 85/102.

Waikato, was a perfect choice.

Taiwhanga was, however, doomed to disappointment; the King had already decided to go to England on his own account. In December 1882, immediately after his final meeting with Bryce, Tawhiao had embarked on the first of a series of lengthy tours of the North Island. Leaving Whatiwhatihoe with sixty followers he had gone from Wanganui through Foxton to Masterton and Napier.¹⁵ Early in April he was at Taupo, on his way home, and on 18 April 1883 he made a ceremonial return to Cambridge.¹⁶ Within a month he set off again. On 15 May, with 100 of his people, he started on an extended tour of the East Coast.¹⁷ And his intended northern journey¹⁸ was abandoned, it seems, only because of the pressure of events at home. In essence, perhaps, the King's incessant travelling was merely a reflection of his new-found liberty to do so, an expression of sheer joy, now that he had made his peace with the pakeha, at being able to wander where he wished. Certainly, too, it was a fulfilment of a promise he had made at his 1882 meeting, to journey beyond his own boundaries, to visit and befriend the pakeha. "I want my breakfast and my dinner with the pakehas", he had said. "I shall be all

15. See W.G. Morpeth to John Bryce, 18 November 1882, MA 5/14, No.866; Waikato Times, 16 December 1882, 13 January and 31 March 1883.

16. *Ibid.*, 7 April and 19 April 1883. He was welcomed on behalf of the inhabitants by none other than Sheehan.

17. New Zealand Herald, 16 May 1883; Waikato Times, 7 June 1883. See also Captain Preece to Under Secretary, Native Department, 2 July 1883. AJHR, 1883, G-1A, No.8.

18. New Zealand Herald, 9 May 1883.

over the place."¹⁹ At the same time during these months, however, his peregrinations had taken on a new significance. Whether it was because he had found general support during his travels for the idea of an English mission or because he became closely acquainted with the aims and methods of Taiwhanga, is uncertain. But by May 1883 he had made up his mind. The New Zealand tour had become but a preliminary to his visit to England. When he had traversed the North Island, he would journey across the seas.²⁰

Taiwhanga's activities, if indeed they impressed the King, were certainly less influential than the advice of a rather more eminent malcontent. More perhaps than any other chief of the period, Wiremu te Wheoro, currently the member for Western Maori,²¹ was experienced in the ways of settler government. Since the wars he had been the Government's most ardent advocate among the Wai-kato. He had long been useful to the Native Office in the negotiations with Tawhiao. He was successively a magistrate, an assessor of the Native Land Court, a Maori Commissioner, and a Maori member of the House. But the more closely he became involved with Government, the more disenchanted with its procedures he grew.²² In Parliament he was frustrated to the point of hopelessness.

19. R.S. Bush to Native Minister, 27 May 1882. AJHR, 1882, G-4A, No.1, Encl. No.2, p.13.

20. New Zealand Herald, 9 May and 16 May 1883.

21. He was elected in 1879. See above, p.77.

22. See Statement of Te Wheoro, Interview of Maori Chiefs with Lord Derby, The Times, 23 July 1884, encl. in F.D. Bell to the Premier, 24 July 1884. MA 23/4a, N.O. 84/3056.

"There is not one member in this House", he once said, "who can get up and say there has been a single application from the Native race which has been granted."²³

There were, however, more material reasons for his dissatisfaction. As a reward for his loyalty, Te Wheoro had lost in the Confiscation 200,000 acres of his land, which lay in the fertile Waikato. Despite his protests very little had been returned to him. To him, as to Tawhiao, therefore, the invasion of Kawhia came as the last straw. He, too, had extensive lands at Kawhia; he, too, was horrified at the shady methods by which the Government insinuated itself. In vain he fought to have an inquiry into the validity of the Government purchase; in vain he fought the Government bill authorizing the sale of sections in the proposed township.²⁴ In the Ngatimaniapoto petition his worst fears were realized; his lands at Kawhia, it seemed, would be put through the Court without his permission being asked.²⁵ In the House, he presented a petition from Manuhiri and the Waikato, denying that Ngatimaniapoto had any right to include Potatau's lands within

23. NZPD, Vol.43, 30 August 1882, p.712.

24. Memorial of the Maori Chiefs Tawhiao, Wiremu Te Wheoro, Patara Te Tuhi, Topia Turoa, & Hori Ropihana, 15 July 1884. New Zealand. Correspondence respecting a memorial brought to this country by certain Maori chiefs in 1884. G.B. Command Paper [C.4413], No.1. It should be noted that it was Te Wheoro who drew up the Memorial. See J.H. Kerry Nicholls to Sir George Grey, 11 August 1884. Grey Collection GL:NZ.K.10 (11).

25. NZPD, Vol.45, 3 August 1883, p.298.

their boundary,²⁶ though he knew, no doubt, that Potatau's claims would receive small attention. The Government, intent on gaining land for their railway, were too busy pandering to Ngatimaniapoto wishes to be interested in the complaints of Waikato. It was in short Kawhia, the final proof, it seemed to Te Wheoro, of the complete dishonesty and injustice of the Government in its dealings in Maori land, which convinced him that an appeal must be made to a higher authority than existed in New Zealand.²⁷

Without a doubt, then, it was on Te Wheoro's initiative that, in July 1883, a letter embodying the first formal suggestion of a royal visit to England was signed by the four Maori members and dispatched to the Aborigines' Protection Society. The Treaty of Waitangi, it stated, which had guaranteed the Maoris protection of their lands, was being broken. The Maoris had been forced to accept the pakeha Land Court, which was costly and unjust, and the pakeha concept of individual land ownership. The Europeans were penetrating now even into the King Country, where hitherto the Maoris had been immune from their destructive influence. And they themselves, though they sat in the pakeha Parliament, were powerless

26. See Petition of Manuhiri and 488 Others... Laid before the House 21 August 1883. Printed in AJHR, 1883, J-1A, No.1. See also New Zealand Herald, 10 August 1883.

27. Cf. the later assertion of the Alexandra correspondent of The Waikato Times that "the idea of the mission was entirely of His /Te Wheoro's/designing." Waikato Times, 27 March 1884. See also Te Wheoro's strongly worded letter to Ballance, 22 June 1886. Grey Collection, New Zealand, No. 149, Vol.272 G. Maori Letters 542-702 (loose in back of vol.)

to mitigate these evils. They suggested as a solution that the land be vested in an elective body of Maoris, which would also raise taxes and pass laws, and promised that, if these requests were met, most of the remaining lands would be leased. They were loud in their assertions of loyalty to the Queen; indeed, they said, Her Majesty and her Parliament represented their only hope of salvation. This, then, was why Tawhiao, the recognized head of their race, would shortly be coming with a petition to England.²⁸

The authorship of the letter is still a matter for debate. The general sentiments certainly were those of the Maori members.²⁹ More certainly the nomination of Tawhiao as their representative is evidence of the new partnership between Te Wheoro and the King; his name would hardly have been inserted unless Te Wheoro had been given assurances of his co-operation. But it remains difficult to dismiss out of hand the blistering rebuttal administered the English recipients of the letter by the Native Minister, John Bryce. Replying to the Maori accusations in a memorandum for the Governor, Bryce professed himself embarrassed and humiliated at having to make an official statement on such an irresponsible communication. It was, he said, quite obvious that, far from being the work of its

28. Wi Te Wheoro, M.H.R., Hone Mohi Tawhai, M.H.R., Henare Tomoana, M.H.R., H.R. Tairaoa, M.H.R., to F.W. Chesson, Secretary, Aborigines' Protection Society, 16 July 1883. G.B. Command Paper [C.4413], Appendix, No.1, Encl.

29. See for instance the evidence in F.W. Chesson [Aborigines' Protection Society] to Derby, 30 May 1884. CC 209/244.

signatories, the letter was the perpetration of "some tenth-rate politician in New Zealand, with probably a petty grievance against the Government". The Members had all in the past been utterly loyal to the Government; they could never have entertained such sentiments as were expressed in the letter.³⁰ Bryce, it is true, offered no evidence for his assertions. He enclosed no statement from the members denying their association with the letter; nor, indeed, as far as we know, did they ever deny it.³¹ But in his contesting of the actual authorship of the letter Bryce would seem to have been justified. There was a candidate for his rôle of "tenth-rate politician". His name was McBeth.

Very little is known about J.R. McBeth, except that he was a Wellingtonian who had been present in 1881 at the destruction of Parihaka. His indignation at the treatment meted out to Te Whiti was such that he wrote to The Times of London. He came thus into contact with the Aborigines' Protection Society, which wished to know more about Maori grievances. Thereafter he took up with enthusiasm the idea of a Maori visitation to England.³² He seems, however, to have been uncertain initially which potential deputation

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30. John Bryce, Memo. for the Governor, 11 January 1884. G.B. Command Paper /C.4413/, Appendix, No.3, Encl. No.1.
31. It is significant that when Te Wheoro was questioned about the letter he denied only a statement from London that the Government was preventing the King from visiting the Queen. New Zealand Herald, 21 November 1883.
32. This is McBeth's own testimony; Waikato Times, 29 January 1884. A letter which he wrote to the Aborigines' Protection Society was published in The Aborigines' Friend, No.2, Vol.2, New Series, July 1883.

he should support. Though his first involvement was with the Maori members,³³ whose candidate was of course Tawhiao, he later patronised Hirini Taiwhanga, whose mission probably seemed to him more advanced. And Hirini had in any case determined, by the end of the year, to ask Tawhiao to join his enterprise.

In November 1883, Hone Mohi Tawhai, the member for Northern Maori, wrote to the Native Minister from Hokianga to confirm that, although Tawhiao was going on a voyage to England, it would not take place for some time. For Hirini's plans for the mission, he said, were, with the assistance of a de-registered Auckland lawyer, becoming more grandiose. It was now intended that the Government should first be summoned before the Supreme Court to answer charges in connection with the Treaty of Waitangi. If this should fail a petition embodying the Maori complaints would be presented to the New Zealand Parliament. Only in the last resort was appeal to be made to the British Government which would then, it was argued, be unable to accuse the plaintiffs of not having first approached the proper authorities in the Colony.³⁴ It seems unlikely, however, that this logical scheme was ever seriously entertained. For Tawhai added that there was an alternative suggestion of sending a deputation to England which would then arraign the New Zealand

33. Cf. McBeth's statement published in The New Zealand Times, 24 November 1883, encl. in J.R. McBeth to the Governor, 30 November 1883. MA 23/1, attached to N.O. 84/110.

34. Hone Mohi Tawhai to the Premier, 27 November 1883. MA 23/1, N.O. 83/3682.

Government before the Privy Council. Maoris all over the country, moreover, were already collecting money to pay for the trial and the cost of taking the petition to England.³⁵ Representations to the New Zealand Government were evidently envisaged at best only as a formality.

In short, then, Tawhiao, whether or not he approved, was being involved in Ngapuhi plans. Taiwhanga no doubt saw his inclusion as the best method of quashing a rival project. In any case, he needed Tawhiao for his own purposes. But the results of his first attempt at an interview in August had hardly been encouraging. Although he met some of the leading Kingites, Tawhiao, whom he had especially hoped to see, was not present. Taiwhanga had wired that he was coming; Tawhiao had gone to Kawhia. It was a pointed reminder that the King had no wish to be patronised by Taiwhanga. Quite obviously, Taiwhanga needed an intermediary. And it must have seemed to him that he could do no better than to secure the services of McBeth who was, after all, respectably connected with the Maori members.

Thus it was that in January 1884, Taiwhanga arrived with "his pakeha" to attend a Kingite meeting at Whatiwhatihoe.³⁶ On the second day, McBeth rose to deliver a sensational speech. It was he, he said, who had written the letter sent to England by the

35. Hone Mohi Tawhai to the Premier, 27 November 1883. MA 23/1, N.O. 83/3682.

36. It was reported that Taiwhanga paid McBeth's expenses on the journey. New Zealand Herald, 24 January 1884.

four Maori members.³⁷ He believed the Kingites' claims for self-government and for the sole management of their lands to be completely justified, and he thought that obstruction of public works was in the meantime the only protest against the intrusion of the Government that they could make. There was, however, another avenue open to them, and it was this in which he was particularly interested. For he had come to put before the meeting an invitation extended by F.W. Chesson, the secretary of the Aborigines' Protection Society. The Society proposed that a group of chiefs, led by Tawhiao and accompanied by McBeth, should proceed to England to lay Maori grievances before the Queen. McBeth and Taiwhanga, then, had come to invite Tawhiao to join their expedition.³⁸

On all counts McBeth should have enjoyed a warm Kingite reception. Instead, he was snubbed. Tawhiao seems to have taken an instant dislike to him, and was anxious to make it known that he had nothing to do with these northern intruders. Nor were his

37. Waikato Times, 29 January 1884. His statement must, it seems, be taken literally. For the previous November he had vehemently denied that he was the author of the letter, stating that although he had attended the meeting at which it was composed, the letter was the "joint production of the meeting". See McBeth's statement, New Zealand Times, 24 November 1883, encl. in J.R. McBeth to the Governor, 30 November 1883. MA 23/1, N.O. 84/110.

38. Waikato Times, 29 January 1884. Since Chesson's letter was dated 23 September 1883, it seems probable that he advised that McBeth attach himself to the royal deputation of which he had already been notified in the July letter of the Maori members. Whether McBeth had suggested Taiwhanga to the Society as a companion, and was ignored, or whether their partnership was subsequent, is not known.

followers any more enthusiastic; they were chiefly interested in the large sum of money which they were told must be raised for the journey. Why on earth, they asked, did three people need so much?³⁹ In short, the Waikato simply were suspicious of the whole scheme. It seemed to them too obviously the work of Hirini Taiwhanga, a man who inspired little respect outside of his own district. The inclusion of Tawhiao in the party was too blatantly aimed at securing Kingite funds. Tawhiao himself was no doubt offended not only by the common companions offered him, but by the idea of being merely part of someone else's expedition. His kingly dignity was outraged. "If I go to England", he said, "it is for me to go when I please. What is Taiwhanga to me?"⁴⁰ McBeth, then, was unable to save Taiwhanga. He himself might have enjoyed some influence with the Kingites, for his proposals at least were treated with respect. But his connection with Taiwhanga was to prove his downfall. Taiwhanga, meanwhile, was soon to witness the galling sight of his plan being taken over, lock, stock and barrel, by the Kingites. He was, unfortunately for him, the least important part of it. The Waikato arrangements for a journey to England were thus made without reference to its progenitors.

The question arises, of course, why it was that independent Waikato preparations had not already been begun for a mission which

39. Waikato Times, 29 January 1884. Hirini told the meeting that he, McBeth, and Tawhiao would each need £600.

40. Ibid.

had been advocated the previous May. Why, moreover, after such a long delay, was the organization of Tawhiao's journey so sudden and so hurried? It was, it seems, the hapless McBeth who was responsible for the new energy with which the scheme was taken up. For he was able to provide details which were instrumental in bringing Tawhiao's previously vague plan to fruition. In the first place he brought assurances, for which the Kingites had probably been waiting, of a warm welcome in England. More important, however, was his advice to Tawhiao to visit England while the British Parliament was in session. The King was obviously impressed with the fact that by timing his arrival carefully he could enjoy wider publicity and so make a greater impact.⁴¹ Since it was clear that the journey would in any case have to be made soon, while interest in its objects continued high, there can have seemed little point in further delay.

The success of the new venture was rapid. Kingly mana, as Taiwhanga had understood, bestowed upon it a prestige which his own advocacy could never have done. And Tawhiao threw himself with enthusiasm into the preparations. Immediately after the Whati-whatihoe meeting he set out on a tour of his dominions to publicise in person the nature of his expedition.⁴² From Kawhia he travelled rapidly to Waitetuna, to Whatawhata, and as far south as Waitara, holding meetings and collecting funds.⁴³ On 12 February 1884 he

41. Waikato Times, 14 February 1884 and 8 March 1884.

42. The plan had been finalised by 5 February 1884. See Te Raihi to John Bryce, 5 February 1884, MA 23/4a, N.O. 84/463.

43. Waikato Times, 7 and 9 February 1884.

arrived unexpectedly with Major Te Wheoro in Auckland, the object of the visit being, as the Herald rather ambiguously reported, "to obtain certain things which he requires when he goes to England."⁴⁴ His followers meanwhile, no longer menaced by fears of Ngapuhi misappropriation of their funds, were energetically raising the money to pay their King's passage to England. At Kawhia, at Hikurangi, at Hauturu, they began rounding up his cattle for sale.⁴⁵ At first the press sneered at their efforts, but it soon became obvious that the target of £1,000 would be met much more quickly than had been thought possible. Donations were pouring in. A week after the meeting £300 arrived from Napier and the East Coast.⁴⁶ The Maungatautari natives subscribed a large sum.⁴⁷ A delegation of Ohinemuri chiefs arrived at a fund-raising meeting convened by Te Ngakau with a donation of £40.⁴⁸ By the beginning of March, only a month after the start of his campaign, Tawhiao had enough.⁴⁹

It was perhaps fortunate that the King was delayed for another month in New Zealand.⁵⁰ For if the financial arrangements for the

44. Report reprinted in The Waikato Times, 14 February 1884.

45. Ibid., 5 February 1884.

46. New Zealand Herald, 7 February 1884.

47. Waikato Times, 28 February 1884.

48. Ibid., 4 March 1884.

49. Ibid., 6 March 1884. He was reported to have collected £2,000; a week later, however, the figure had risen to £3,000.

50. He was unable, much to his disappointment, to get a berth on the first available boat. Ibid., 27 March 1884. See also J.H. Kerry Nicholls to Sir George Grey, 25 March 1884. Grey Collection, GL:NZ. K 10(9).

journey had been expeditious, the organization was in other respects almost haphazard. The contents of the petition, for instance, were only ratified by a hastily-convened meeting held at Whatiwhatiho on 5 March; the memorial was not completed until the party arrived in London.⁵¹ The question of the composition of Tawhiao's entourage, too, took weeks to settle. How many chiefs should go? Who should be chosen? And which tribes should be represented? The Kingites evidently were unable to agree on such matters. On 7 February Tawhiao told a meeting of Waitetuna and Waipa men that he would be accompanied by Topia of Wanganui, Te Wheoro, Patara te Pukuatua of the Arawa, Henare te Matuahu of Ngatikahumata, Rewi, if he could go,⁵² or in his stead a younger Ngatimaniapoto chief, and also a Ngatihaua chief, probably Te Ngakau.⁵³ But this was a very preliminary list. The only name which was never thereafter in doubt was

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51. Tawhiao explained that he could not wait to call a larger meeting. The tribes present merely signed separate statements supporting Tawhiao's proclamations "against the roads... trig. stations, surveys, Courts, Maori Councils..." etc., and asked that it be left to Tawhiao to administer the land. Statements in Collection of Mr Bob Mahuta, Auckland.
52. The chief drama of the January Kingite meeting had lain in Rewi's unexpected announcement of his return to the King, and his subsequent withdrawal of his name from the survey application. He still wished the survey to proceed, he said, but he did not want to be associated with it, or to be a trouble to his child (Tawhiao) any longer. It seems that at the meeting he was overcome by emotion; he was, as he said, an old man. See Waikato Times, 29 January 1884, and Rewi Maniapoto to Native Minister, 26 January 1884. MA 13/93. Correspondence with Natives relating to Certain Surveys in the Waikato District, No.1.
53. New Zealand Herald, 7 February 1884.

that of Topia Turoa.⁵⁴ Even Te Wheoro's inclusion was to remain for some time a matter for controversy. At first it was put out that he did not wish to go because of his fear of the distance and the long sea voyage, and that he hoped someone could be found to replace him.⁵⁵ It was a flimsy excuse. He was far more probably waiting for Sir George Grey's advice. "I want to hear from you that I am going to England with Tawhiao", he had written soon after the Whatiwhatihoe meeting. "I say I want to hear your ideas because you are an elder, a friend of the chiefs of old, and you also are a chief."⁵⁶ And he was probably unwilling to commit himself before he had heard Grey's reply. But even though he announced a fortnight later that he would certainly be of the party,⁵⁷ this was not to be the end of it. At the final Kingite meeting a faction led by Patara te Tuhi accused the Major of undertaking the journey only for his own profit. Te Wheoro immediately withdrew in umbrage from the whole thing and announced that he would stay behind. In the face of repeated representations from King and people he graciously consented, however, to change his mind.⁵⁸ But the most interesting result of the altercation was the subsequent addition to the party

54. Topia had himself been offered the kingship, which he refused; subsequently he had been an active Kingite in the Taupo and Upper Whanganui regions. Later, however, he had helped the Government in its pursuit of Te Kooti and, more recently, he had become an advocate of the railway.

55. New Zealand Herald, 7 February 1884.

56. Te Wheoro to Sir George Grey, 31 January 1884. Grey Collection, Maori Letters 1-320 No.3. G245.

57. Waikato Times, 14 February 1884.

58. Ibid., 25 March and 1 April 1884.

of Te Tuhi, a previously unmentioned candidate. Whether this was the outcome of some sort of direct challenge issued by Te Wheoro or whether his inclusion was the condition on which Te Wheoro consented to relent, is, of course, impossible to tell. But it seems certain that the choice of Te Tuhi was not a coincidence.

The formation of a delegation on such random considerations made a mockery of the efforts of the press to piece together a list of potential companions. There were, however, a few favoured names. Henare Tomomana, M.H.R., Paora Tuhaere, Henare Matua and Te Ngakau were most often mentioned.⁵⁹ But none of them went with Tawhiao. Te Ngakau stayed behind as the King's representative; Henare Kaihau, who was also on the list, was in the end given the job of minding the King's sons.⁶⁰ Paora, who alone was a serious possibility, took ill only a few days before the sailing date and was unable to go.⁶¹ Rewi, whom Tawhiao himself had mentioned, announced immediately that he had no intention of going and never showed the slightest disposition to change his mind.⁶² And, since any other Ngatimaniapoto would have risked the displeasure of the chiefs if he went,⁶³

59. See, for instance, the Waikato Times, 14 February and 4 March 1884. Matua was a Hawkes Bay chief.

60. New Zealand Herald, 31 March 1884, and Waikato Times, 3 April 1884. Kaihau was a Kingite chief of Ngatiteata.

61. He had made a farewell speech to his Parliament which had opened at Kaipara on 17 March. New Zealand Herald, 20 March 1884.

62. Waikato Times, 9 February 1884.

63. Cf. Wahanui's disapproving letter of 30 January 1884 to George Wilkinson, encl. in Wilkinson to Bryce, 1 February 1884. MA 13/93, filed after N.O. 84/378.

nobody replaced him. For the rest, there was a vast amount of guesswork. The Waikato Times, for instance, thought in terms of a "numerous retinue of friends and relatives"⁶⁴ and the Herald, in an effort to complete the contingent, suggested such unlikely people as Tairaroa, M.H.R., Hone Mohi Tawhai, and numerous obscure Northern chiefs.⁶⁵ Even Wilkinson, the Government agent, was guilty of speculation; he suggested among others, Te Toko, who had pulled down the Kakepuku trig. station.⁶⁶

As it turned out it was not until 29 March 1884, when passages were actually booked for the party, that it was possible to give a substantially accurate account of the composition of the company. Initially there were to have been only five of them; Tawhiao himself, Te Wheoro, Te Tuhi, Topia Turoa, and the interpreter, a half-caste named George Skidmore.⁶⁷ But when on 1st April Tawhiao finally sailed, he was accompanied by a sixth delegate, a young Ngatikahungunu chief from Waipawa named Hori Ropihana who had left home some two months previously, as the Government agent for the district wrote disapprovingly, "without knowing he was going to England".⁶⁸ It would have been odd if he had; he had never been thought of as a

64. Waikato Times, 6 March 1884.

65. New Zealand Herald, 17 March 1884. There is no evidence that any of them was asked, or thought of going; Tawhai, on the contrary, had condemned the whole idea from the start.

66. This was one of Cussen's first King Country stations. Tawhiao instantly condemned Te Toko's action and gave orders that the edifice was to be re-erected. Waikato Times, 19 January 1884. See also G.T. Wilkinson to Under Secretary, Native Department, 17 March 1884. MA 23/4a. N.O. 84/955.

67. New Zealand Herald, 31 March 1884. Skidmore's mother was a Ngapuhi, but he had resided in the Waikato since 1851.

68. G.A.Preece to Under Secretary, Native Department, 10 April 1884. MA 23/4a, N.O. 84/1585.

likely addition to the party and, even when Tawhiao visited a Japanese warship with his complete entourage the day before he sailed, Ropihana seems not to have been present.⁶⁹ There is, in fact, no mention of him until he appears in the reports of the sailing of the expedition. Why, then, did a hitherto unknown young chief leave with the Maori King? It seems likely that Ropihana was included at the last minute in an effort to make the delegation appear more widely representative of the tribes of New Zealand. With the addition of Te Tuhi the mission had become a predominantly Waikato affair, a circumstance which was aggravated by Paora's withdrawal. This probably explains why Te Ngakau, whose claims to inclusion were rather higher, did not replace him. For Ropihana, who was at the time in Auckland and who was, on all counts, a very intelligent man,⁷⁰ could be said, at a pinch, to represent the southern and eastern tribes. And it was he in the end who was asked to go.

But what of the two men who had done so much towards launching the enterprise? McBeth was on the wharf to see them off. Patara made a high-minded speech to the effect that they would have liked to take him but were unable to afford it—⁷¹ hardly a subtle excuse in view of the late inclusion of Hori Ropihana. But the need for subtlety had long since passed. At his last meeting Tawhiao had

69. See report in New Zealand Herald, 1 April 1884.

70. G.A. Preece to Under Secretary, Native Department, 27 May 1884. AJHR, 1884, Session II, G-1, No.10. Preece thought that Ropihana's influence would "have a good effect on the uncivilized Waikato chief."

71. New Zealand Herald, 2 April 1884.

announced bluntly that he refused to pay McBeth's fare.⁷² McBeth hung about till the end, probably hoping that Tawhiao would be smitten by his conscience and change his mind. But he must have known it was useless. Tawhiao simply did not like him.⁷³ And in the light of McBeth's subsequent behaviour his mistrust seems not without justification. A month after Tawhiao had sailed McBeth was back in the King Country, this time to try and persuade Rewi to go to England with him. The voyage was evidently to be at Rewi's expense. For when the old man turned him out, McBeth was found to be unable even to pay his train fare back to Auckland.⁷⁴

Taiwhanga, less surprisingly, fared no better. From the beginning he had been peremptorily dismissed. "... if Sydney raised the funds", said a Kingite spokesman, "they would make no objection to his going, but...he would have to go at his own charge."⁷⁵ But while the party lacked an interpreter Hirini still had a chance.⁷⁶ And he seems not to have given up hope. He spent the intervening weeks between the January meeting and Tawhiao's

72. Waikato Times, 25 March 1884.

73. Their differences may in fact have gone deeper. McBeth advocated a policy of complete isolation for the Kingites; Tawhiao's ambition, on the other hand, was to live in friendship with the pakeha.

74. Waikato Times, 3 May 1884. McBeth remains an enigma. The Herald, after interviewing him, described him as "a well-intentioned meddler, led away by sentimentalism", and he seems indeed to have had a genuine concern for the Maoris. But the exaggerations and distortions in his letters (see for instance that published in the Herald on 11 February 1884) as well as his constant poverty, must stand against him.

75. Waikato Times, 14 February 1884.

76. Ibid., 13 March 1884.

departure touring the East Coast and making sensational speeches about the need for Maori self-government.⁷⁷ Late in March he was still speaking of the mission which he and Tawhiao would shortly be undertaking.⁷⁸ He probably hoped that if he went through the motions he might yet be allowed to go. But with the selection of George Skidmore as interpreter, the only position in which Taiwhanga might conceivably have been necessary was filled. Hone Mohi Tawhai's strongly worded protest to Tawhiao against Hirini's inclusion no doubt strengthened his resolve,⁷⁹ but it seems that the Kingites only ever considered taking him as a last resort and that, from the beginning, they were seeking an alternative. Again, Tawhiao can hardly be accused of unreasoning prejudice. Even before he left, Hirini's own tribe were talking of getting up a new petition, quite separate from that of Taiwhanga. They had, it appears, lost faith in him when it was found that he had misappropriated the funds gathered during his southern tour.⁸⁰

Taiwhanga and McBeth, in short, were admirable partners. But, as Tawhiao had seen from the first, they were hardly fit companions for a King. And they were certainly not suitable members of the dignified delegation which he hoped to lead to England. For the King, it is evident, was very sensible of the momentous nature

77. New Zealand Herald, 28 February and 12 March 1884.

78. R.S. Bush to Under Secretary, Native Department, 8 May 1884. AJHR, 1884, Session II, G-1, No.7.

79. Waikato Times, 25 March 1884.

80. J.S. Clendon to Under Secretary, Native Department, 31 March 1884, MA 23/1, N.O. 84/1271; and 13 April 1884, MA 23/1, N.O. 84/1198.

of the mission. He did his best, before his departure, to invest himself and his party with an aura of official approval and state-
 liness. He visited Sir George Grey at home to obtain introductions
 and advice.⁸¹ He signed the Pledge, lest insobriety should wreck
 the mission.⁸² He had a private interview with the Governor and
 won his blessing.⁸³ He made an impressive farewell tour of the
 Lower Waikato, culminating in a large meeting held at Mercer.⁸⁴ In
 Auckland he paid a regal visit to a visiting Japanese warship and
 paraded Queen Street wearing a gorgeous flaxen crown.⁸⁵ And the
 day before he sailed, he sent a farewell message to the people of
 New Zealand to be published in the Herald. His was a dramatic exit.
 He left amid the acclamations of his people and the reluctant
 admiration of the press. And if he left also in the face of
 unanimous settler opinion that politically he could achieve nothing,
 it seems that he ignored all warnings not out of perversity but
 because of a fervent belief in the impossibility of failure. "Let
 matters remain in abeyance till my return", he wrote in his message,
 "and I will then make known the decision."⁸⁶ He went spectacularly
 because he meant to return in a blaze of glory.

81. New Zealand Herald, 20 March 1884.

82. Ibid. The original of the pledge is in the Grey Collection, GNZ/MMSS 130. It was also signed by Grey himself, Te Wheoro, Rewi, Honana Maioha, and Tu Tawhiao.

83. New Zealand Herald, 2 April 1884.

84. Waikato Times, 29 March 1884; New Zealand Herald, 28 and 29 March 1884.

85. New Zealand Herald, 1 April 1884.

86. King Tawhiao to the Editor, published in the New Zealand Herald, 1 April 1884.

Epilogue

In London the King and his party were a huge success. They attended operas, plays, and endless receptions. They were driven round the Park by the Coaching Club; they were invited to lunch with the Lord Mayor of London.¹ Before he left the King addressed a mass temperance meeting in the Crystal Palace.² "Tawhiao, when in society, was always liked for his courteous, and gentle disposition", wrote Kerry-Nicholls to Grey, "and he at all times 'made himself at home' with an easy grace which astonished everyone."³ He enjoyed the admiration of his hosts and the universal sympathy of the British press.⁴ But it is doubtful whether any of this made up for the disappointment of the Maoris when they finally learned that they were not to be allowed to see the Queen.⁵ This, after all, was why they had come. "... since the completion of the Treaty of Waitangi", they explained to the Colonial Office, "the

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1. J.H. Kerry Nicholls to Sir George Grey, 3 July 1884 and 11 August 1884, Grey Collection, GL:NZ K10 (10) and (11). See also Waikato Times, 29 July 1884.
 2. Waikato Times, 9 September 1884.
 3. J.H. Kerry Nicholls to Sir George Grey, 10 September 1884. Grey Collection, GL:NZ K10 (12).
 4. See London newspaper cuttings forwarded by the Agent General. F.D. Bell to the Premier, 24 July 1884. MA 23/4a, N.C. 84/3056.
 5. They requested a reconsideration of the decision, but without success; on 19 August 1884 the Colonial Office wrote their second rebuff. It seems, however, that had it been left to the Office the chiefs would certainly have seen the Queen, but that in the face of the opposition of the Agent General for New Zealand they had no alternative but to remain firm- Bell had gone so far as to assert that Tawhiao was "not of sufficiently good character to be given an interview". See C.O. minutes attached to Tawhiao and others the Maori chiefs to Derby, 13 August 1884. CO 209/244.

Maori race have looked up to the Queen as our great Mother... and it is as if we were cast away as a race who had nothing to do with the Queen..."⁶

Therein, of course, lay their tragedy. To the Maoris, the Treaty of Waitangi was their last protection;⁷ to the British Government it was a relic of a bygone age. The Government took refuge, as it had to, behind the argument that it was powerless to interfere in the internal affairs of self-governing colonies.⁸ The constitutional implications of attempting to redress the grievances of subject native races against their colonial rulers, whose inheritance was the right to complete local autonomy, were indeed, as Gladstone pointed out, enormous.⁹ But surely, thundered Randolph Churchill, it was a case in which treaty rights were involved; surely the Government could not so easily relieve itself of its treaty obligations merely because it had given certain powers of local government to the colonists?¹⁰ The Government tried to soften the blow. Gladstone affirmed that it was the duty of the

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6. Tawhiao and others [the Maori chiefs] to Derby, 13 August 1884. CO 209/244.
 7. The 1884 petition was entirely based on the Treaty, which it quoted in full, and on the personal relationship between the Queen and the Maoris; cf. its last words: "... we pray in the presence of the Queen that she will confirm her words given in that treaty that it may not be trampled upon by the Government of New Zealand..." See Memorial of the Maori chiefs... 15 July 1884. GB Command Paper [C.4413], No.1.
 8. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, Vol.302, 1885, Col.1253.
 9. Ibid., cols.1263-4.
 10. Ibid., cols. 1257-8.

colonial government to act in the matter;¹¹ Evelyn Ashley, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, assured the House that the weight of British "public opinion" would have as great an effect on the New Zealand Government as any direct intervention by the Imperial government.¹² They agreed, moreover, to use their good offices with the New Zealand government "with the view of obtaining for the Natives all the consideration that can be given to them..."¹³ But in the final analysis the Government had to admit that it was indeed powerless to honour its obligations; it could give no advice "as to the applicability at the present time of any particular stipulation of a Treaty which it no longer rests with them to carry out..."¹⁴

And so the Maori people were finally abandoned to the tender mercies of a settler government which would only ever grant those of their wishes that were compatible with strictly European preoccupations. They found the change a difficult one to understand.

Patara te Tuhi made a halting attempt to reconcile himself to the

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11. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, Vol.302, 1885, col.1261.
 12. Ibid., col.1253. He was hopeful. The New Zealand Government did not even prepare a memorandum on the subject of the Maori memorial until 12 March 1885, after Derby had sent a reminder; the Colonial Office thought the result "very off hand" and in parts "impudent". Derby, in his reply, stressed his pleasure at the proposal to increase the number of Maori members; it was, however, a scheme which was never carried out. See Sir W. Jervois to Derby, No.39, 28 March 1885, Encl and C.O. minutes, CO 209/245.
 13. See R.G.W. Herbert, minute, 16 June 1885, appended to despatch No.52, CO 209/245.
 14. Ibid. *But see* Evelyn Ashley's first evasive reply in the House; Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, Vol.302, 1885, col. 1771.

new situation: "Our thoughts are that... the power which the Queen and her Government had given to them, is now being joined to the Government of New Zealand. The power which was given cannot be taken away. The Governor of New Zealand cannot be removed, or done away with."¹⁵ It was, in short, the continued presence of the Governor which the Maoris found so confusing. If the Queen's power were still represented in the Colony, why could they not be granted a government under her authority, just as the settlers had their own institutions?¹⁶ Why did the Queen refuse to use the power given to her in the constitution of establishing self-governing native districts?¹⁷ Even if the Treaty were dead, did the Maoris not have rights under the Constitution?

Lord Derby had tried to prepare them for the answer: "...there are many things in a ... Government like ours which, though they may be strictly legal, are yet so contrary to constitutional practice... that it would be very difficult to act upon them, whatever the state

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15. Tuhi Maioha to F.W. Chesson, 20 June 1885, published in The Aborigines' Friend, No.6, Vol.2, New Series, November 1885. See also King Tawhiao to the Governor, 7 July 1886. MA 23/4a, N.O. 86/2436.
16. See Memorial of the Maori chiefs... 15 July 1884. G.B. Command Paper [C.4413], No.1.
17. It seems that the Maoris' attention was first drawn to clause 71 of the Constitution Act in London; thereafter they cited it freely. See for instance Te Paki o Matariki, No.8, 8 May 1893. The bill which Tawhiao subsequently sent to the New Zealand Parliament, outlining a system of Maori self-government under his authority, was based on the clause. See King Tawhiao to the Native Minister, 17 May 1886. MA 23/4a, N.O. 86/1431.

of the law may be."¹⁸ He knew, after all, that the settlers would never grant the Maoris a separate government. They had fought to destroy Tawhiao's authority; they would not now recognize it.¹⁹ His title, his very continuing existence, were to the New Zealand Government simply irrelevant.²⁰ They had thought that Tawhiao could be bought off, that in place of his independence he would accept Government gifts. The King had lost his land and most of his supporters; why should he not be grateful for their presents? And because they never understood the King movement they could not see why he would not co-operate.

Tawhiao, it is true, had little remaining to him. But his very refusal to resign his position saved something for the Maori people. He represented a mana which the Government had not yet destroyed. In this respect, of course, the loss of his lands had proved almost an advantage. Because the Government had nothing more with which to blackmail him, he enjoyed an independence of action which was denied Ngatimaniapoto. Ngatimaniapoto, defeated by

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18. Interview of Maori chiefs with Lord Derby, The Times, 23 July 1884, encl. in F.D. Bell to the Premier, 24 July 1884. MA 23/4a, N.O. 84/3056.
19. Cf. the New Zealand Government's answer to Derby's observation on the relevant section of the Constitution Act; they remarked that the clause was intended to apply only "for a short time", and that it was no longer relevant to the circumstances of the colony. Robert Stout, Memo. for the Governor, 12 March 1885. G.B. Command Paper/C.44137, Appendix, No.8, Encl. **No.1**.
20. Cf. Bryce's reply to Grey in the House. NZPD, Vol.45, 13 August 1883, p.536; and his even more pointed remark at a Kihikihi meeting, Waikato Times, 20 December 1883.

Government pressure, had surrendered the mana over their lands; they were to lose not only the land but their autonomy. But Tawhiao, though he was rebuffed by the British and New Zealand governments alike, was not beaten.²¹ In 1894, as the last of the Ngatimaniapoto lands passed through the Court, the King established his own constitution, his own press and his own bicameral parliament.²² At the end of thirty years of struggle with the pakeha, Tawhiao had emerged with his political integrity intact.

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21. The New Zealand Government rejected Tawhiao's bill. See King Tawhiao to Sir John Gorst, 5 August 1886, encl. in F.W Chesson [Aborigines' Protection Society] to Granville, 23 November 1886. CO 209/246.
22. Issues of Te Paki o Matariki had been appearing since 1892; regulations for its publication were, however, laid down in the Constitution, which was first published on 12 April 1894. That document is reprinted in W.D. McIntyre and W.J. Gardner (eds.) Speeches and Documents on New Zealand History (Oxford, 1971), pp.165-8.

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